



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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CONTENTS

28 December 1993

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Kozyrev, Grachev, 'Source' View CIS Summit [INTERFAX]	1
Diplomat Dismisses Zhirinovskiy Remarks on Bulgaria [INTERFAX]	1
Churkin on Bosnia Peace Talks, Serbia Sanctions [INTERFAX]	2
Foreign Ministry Aide Views New Tajik Premier [INTERFAX]	2
Baltic Fleet Command Denies Illegal Helicopter Sale [BNS]	2
Commentary Sees Foreign Arms Sales as 'Necessity' [Moscow International]	3

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Election Aftermath

Commission Decree on State Duma Election Results [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 28 Dec]	4
Commentary Views Election Results, Yeltsin News Conference [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Dec] ..	4
Yeltsin To Address New Parliament 11 Jan [ITAR-TASS]	5
Shumeyko Chosen To Organize Federation Council [Russian TV]	5
Parliament's Draft Standing Orders Outlined [IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]	6
Parliament Commission Defines Rules of Procedure [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 28 Dec]	7
Parties Favor Using 'White House' for State Duma [ITAR-TASS]	8
'Russia's Choice' Election Association Meets [ITAR-TASS]	8
Communist Faction Proposes Items for Duma Agenda [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Dec]	8
Drafts Bills [INTERFAX]	9
Abdulatipov Backs Expanded Powers for Federation Council [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 25 Dec]	9

Military Issues

Defense Ministry Reportedly To Be Reorganized [MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 23 Dec]	9
Generals Seen Imperiled [OBSHCHAYA GAZETA 24-31 Dec]	10
Reasons for Reorganization Viewed [SEGODNYA 24 Dec]	10
Soskovets Orders Finance Ministry To Pay Off Defense Debts [Moscow Radio]	11
Shakhray Interviewed on Defense Budget [Moscow International]	11
Official Presents Data on Conversion, Defense Industry [Moscow Radio]	11
Comments on Defense Orders [SEGODNYA 25 Dec]	12
Committee Favors Expanding Arms Export [ITAR-TASS]	13
Yeltsin Appoints Head of Arms Company [ITAR-TASS]	13
Kokoshin Discusses Financial, Communication Issues [ITAR-TASS]	13
Commander Discusses Border Guard Troops' Problems [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 10 Dec]	13
Crime Situation in Armed Forces Said To Be Improving [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Dec]	15

Political Issues

Edict Envisions Government Reform, Streamlining [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 28 Dec]	16
Site for New FIS Training Base Detailed [MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 28 Dec]	16
Over 500,000 Illegal Immigrants Reported [ITAR-TASS]	16
New 'Women's Forum' Holds Constituent Congress [ITAR-TASS]	17
Polls on Events, People of 1993 Reported [ITAR-TASS]	17

Economic Issues

Gaydar Supports Economic Reform After Election [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 24 Dec]	18
Gaydar Upbeat on Economic Prospects [ITAR-TASS]	19
Retention of Cabinet's 'Economic Bloc' Urged [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 28 Dec]	20
Central Bank Statement on Hard Currency Circulation [INTERFAX]	21

Davydov Forecasts Value of Exports in 1994 [Radio Rossii]	21
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Regional Affairs

'Stunned' Reaction to Dissolution of Petersburg Council [SEGODNYA 23 Dec]	22
Yeltsin Appoints Envoys to Khabarovsk, Kurgan Regions [ITAR-TASS]	22
Former Minister Fedorov Elected President of Chuvashia [ITAR-TASS]	22
Provisions of New Bashkortostan Constitution Outlined [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Dec]	22
New President Takes Oath [SEGODNYA 28 Dec]	23
Conflict With Russian Constitution Seen [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 28 Dec]	23
Khakassia Supreme Soviet Extends Powers [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Dec]	23
Chechnya's Clans To Hold Congress [SEGODNYA 24 Dec]	23
Khasbulatov Reinstated as Chechen Citizen [ITAR-TASS]	24
Yakutia Leader Discusses Unity of Federation [INTERFAX]	24
Tatarstan's Economic Program Yields Good Results [ITAR-TASS]	25

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Minister Comments on Russian Elections, Minorities [Kiev Radio]	26
Group Criticizes Government's Stance on CIS [INTERFAX]	26
Columnist Views Russian, U.S. Moves on Nuclear Arms [UKRAYINKSA HAZETA 16-31 Dec] ...	27
Application Submitted for GATT Membership [UNIAR]	28
Germany To Finance Retraining of Ex-Servicemen [UNIAR]	28

National Affairs

Kravchuk Addresses Regional Representatives on Economy [Kiev International]	29
Further Comments on Economy [UKRAYINKSA HAZETA 16-31 Dec]	30
Kravchuk Chairs Session on Agricultural Problems [Kiev TV]	32
Defense Minister Comments on Delays in Servicemen's Pay [Kiev TV]	32
Supreme Council Approves Religious Freedom Resolution [UNIAR]	32
Kuchma Interviewed on Upcoming Elections [Moscow TV]	33
Politicians Discuss New Alignment of Forces [POST-POSTUP 16-22 Dec]	33
'Democratic Movement' Leader Interviewed on Elections [NARODNA HAZETA Dec]	35
Nationalist Organization Meets, Sets Goals [POST-POSTUP 27 Dec]	36
Six Candidates for Crimean President Registered [Kiev Radio]	36
Pro-Russian Election Bloc Formed in Crimea [Kiev International]	36
Republicans, Civic Congress To Boycott Elections [Kiev Radio]	37
Preparations for 'Special Situation' in Sevastopol [IZVESTIYA 28 Dec]	37

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Doctors Term Shushkevich's Health 'Satisfactory' [ITAR-TASS]	38
Prosecutor General Refutes Claims of Alleged Coup Plot [VO SLAVU RODINY 22 Dec]	38
Military Representatives Approved at Enterprises [BELAPAN]	38

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Military Cooperation With Russia Increases	39
Defense Minister Advocates Close Ties [ITAR-TASS]	39
Baykonur Deal, Accords Detailed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Dec]	39
Strategic Defense Cooperation Discussed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Dec]	40
Tereshchenko Stresses Need for Strong Army [Almaty TV]	41
Nazarbayev Appoints New Security Chief [ITAR-TASS]	41
Nazarbayev Appoints Supreme Court Chairman [ITAR-TASS]	41

Nazarbayev Comments on New Economic Course [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Dec]	41
Decree Simplifies Citizenship Procedures [ITAR-TASS]	42

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Holds News Conference on Results CIS Summit [ITAR-TASS]	42
Cooperation Agreement Signed With Turkey [Bishkek Radio]	42
Communist Leader Named Deputy Premier for Agriculture [PRAVDA 28 Dec]	43
Ministry Denies Hijack Leader Bishkek Resident [ITAR-TASS]	43

Uzbekistan

Parliament To Be Renamed Majlis; Speaker Resigns [Moscow Radio]	43
Karimov Rejects Russian 'Demand' for Dual Citizenship [Moscow TV]	43

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Karabakh Lawmaker Says Aland Meetings Valuable [SNARK]	44
Fighting, Casualties Reported on Front Lines [Yerevan Radio]	44
Further on Fighting [Yerevan Radio]	44
Azerbaijanis Sustain 'Enormous Losses' [Yerevan Radio]	45
Surrender of Agdam Heights Reported [AFP]	45
Spokesman on Energy Situation, Plane Crash [Yerevan Radio]	45

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh, Visit to France [Baku TV]	46
Official Denies Armenian Claims on Offensive [Moscow Radio]	48
Opposition Leader Calls for Pro-Western Course [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]	48
'Boz Gurd' Party Holds First Conference [TURAN]	49
Professor Elected Chairman [TURAN]	49

Georgia

Ministry Cooperation Protocol Signed With Russia [ITAR-TASS]	50
Adamishin Comments [Moscow TV]	50
Chikvaide on 'Great Agreement' [SNARK]	50
South Ossetia Constitution Upholds Sovereignty [INTERFAX]	50
Deputy Premier To Coordinate S. Ossetia Affairs [IBERIA]	51
Shevardnadze Discusses CIS, Russia, Other Issues [Tbilisi Radio]	51
Shevardnadze Sets Deadline for Energy Program [Tbilisi Radio]	54
Regional Armed Units Engaged To Fight Terrorists [ITAR-TASS]	55

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Meri Claims IZVESTIYA Misrepresented Comments [Tallinn Radio]	56
Minister Criticizes Russian Border Proposal [BNS]	56
Ex-Communists To Defend Party's Property Rights [BNS]	56

Latvia

Official Responds to Russian Statement on Nationalism [Riga Radio]	57
Andrejevs Hopes for Complete Withdrawal in 1994 [Riga Radio]	58
France To Give Assistance on Recovery of Property [Riga Radio]	58
Defense Force Chief Notes Army's Tasks for 1994 [Riga Radio]	58

Lithuania

Premier Reviews Government's Work This Year [Vilnius Radio]	59
Parties View Early Elections, Coalitions [RESPUBLIKA 16 Dec]	59

Kozyrev, Grachev, 'Source' View CIS Summit

LD2712180293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 27 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; by correspondents Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grischenko]

[Text] At a press conference after the CIS summit in Ashgabat, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev called the meeting crucial. He said it was a sign of the end of an entire historical phase which enabled the former Soviet republics to have a civilized "divorce" and avoid the Yugoslavian variant.

Kozyrev believes that most CIS states are ready to enter another level of integration. "The decision to introduce such a structure within the CIS as a "chairing country" is more evidence of this fact," he said. "The chairing country will change every six months, but it is noteworthy that it was Russia and its President Boris Yeltsin that were elected to chair the CIS first," Kozyrev pointed out, saying he regarded this fact as the recognition of Russia's special role within the Commonwealth.

The decision to seek a special status for the CIS in the UN, CSCE and other international bodies is still another evidence of the qualitative changes being brought about, according to the minister.

In his interview with Interfax, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev gave a positive assessment of the results of the summit. Besides the "productive" meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers and a constructive discussion on the level of heads of state, he pointed to the success of Russia's bilateral negotiations with Turkmenistan.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: According to the agreements reached in Ashgabat, Russia will start aiding the republic in the creation of a modern army starting from January 1, 1994. Aid will be rendered by the 2,000 Russian officers stationed in Tajikistan. In turn, Turkmenistan will take up the entire financing of all Russian servicemen's stay on its territory, starting on the same date.

Commenting on the meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers of the CIS countries, Grachev pointed out that virtually all delegations backed developing military cooperation with Russia.

He also supposed that some progress was observable in negotiations with Ukraine on its nuclear weapons and the Black Sea Fleet. The minister said the two sides agreed to start addressing the issue as of the beginning of the new year.

The Russian border guard commander, Andrey Nikolayev, called the memorandum on cooperation in guarding the state's external borders signed in Ashgabat "a document of great political importance." In an interview with Interfax, he pointed out that this document signed by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Russia,

Tajikistan and Turkmenistan" removed many of the disputes that have piled up."

The Ashgabat summit showed that CIS countries do not have serious differences, and that there are "no reasons to restore any fences between the peoples-brothers."

In the meantime, a reliable source close to the presidential staff disagreed with Kozyrev's statement that the summit crowned the phase of the "civilized divorce" of the former Soviet republics. In his opinion, the meeting was the start of another process, that of their irreversible reintegration. "The summit results are proof of the recognition by all the CIS leaders of Russia's objectively leading role," the source said. He cited as a bright example Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov's change from his previous markedly defiant behavior.

The source said that today only Belarusian Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich consistently opposed the trend of arranging the CIS around Russia. He pointed to the fact that Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich was the most eager to make a step toward Russia's variants for settling the problems discussed in the absence of Shushkevich. The source supposed that Kebich's position reflected the needs of most Belarusians.

The source also pointed to the radical change in the behavior of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. This time, the Ukrainian leader refrained from the statement of Ukraine's special position on all the issues on the agenda which was traditional before.

The source is convinced that while Russia is successfully implementing its economic reforms, integration trends within the CIS and the drift of economically poorer partners to developing Russia will increasingly grow.

Diplomat Dismisses Zhirinovskiy Remarks on Bulgaria

LD2712153693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] A senior Russian diplomat, an expert in Russian-Bulgarian relations, has described as tactless and not reflecting the position of the Russian authorities the statement by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democrats, in which he, while on an unofficial visit in Bulgaria, expressed favor for the resignation of President Zhelu Zhelev, and his replacement by one of his Bulgarian supporters.

The diplomat said Zhirinovskiy's statement is outside the norms of propriety and is close to interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria.

The diplomat is sure that neither this nor other statements by the leader of the Liberal Democrats will influence friendly Russian-Bulgarian relations. People in Bulgaria know well Zhirinovskiy and his views, he said.

Churkin on Bosnia Peace Talks, Serbia Sanctions*LD2712173193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604
GMT 27 Dec 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] Unless an agreement on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is signed in the immediate future, "the vigorous armed confrontation will continue and may have most deplorable consequences," a senior Russian diplomat said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president, told Interfax on Monday [27 December] that, at the last round of peace talks, held under the aegis of the European Community in Geneva and Brussels, the parties to the conflict had once again failed to reach agreement on all points.

"The access of the Muslims to the sea and the Sava River is still a moot point. Nor is there complete agreement on territorial delimitation between the Serbs and Muslims," Churkin said.

He said the remaining problems could be solved after a peace accord was signed. "But this point of view didn't get any support. This causes serious apprehensions that the dispute may continue forever. You can make dozens of proposals and argue endlessly about what are purely technical matters. I have a feeling that none of the parties completely assume that the conflict will be resolved by negotiation. Everyone seems to have the thought at the back of their minds that ultimately everything will be resolved by armed force. And this obviously affects their behavior at the talks," Churkin said.

"It is precisely for this reason that the international community must show resolution and push the parties towards putting their signatures to the peace agreement. Unfortunately at the Brussels meeting no such resolution was shown. The only serious achievement made there was the Christmas truce, although that, as all the preceding agreements, was practically immediately broken," he said.

Churkin reaffirmed that Russia insisted on lifting the sanctions against Serbia after a peace agreement was signed. "At first, the sanctions could be suspended, and then, as the agreement was carried out, lifted altogether," he said.

Churkin said Russia had proposed in Brussels a scheme under which the sanctions could be lifted before a peace agreement was reached if obstacles to it were made by the "non-Serb" side. "But even that tentative suggestion caused a rather emotional reaction in Brussels," he said.

Thus the sanctions were unlikely to be lifted before peace was achieved, he said.

Foreign Ministry Aide Views New Tajik Premier*LD2712172793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604
GMT 27 Dec 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The appointment of Abdumajil Samadov as Tajikistan's Prime Minister may have kept the republic from a new stage of civil war. In an interview with Interfax, a senior Russian Foreign Ministry official, well familiar with the situation in the region, drew attention to the fact that Samadov represented Leninabad's clan as a cousin of Abdumalik Abdullojanov, the former Tajik Premier who resigned a few days ago. "If someone other than a clan member had been appointed, the fragile balance in Tajikistan's leadership could have been tipped. Indicatively, the parliamentary session that endorsed Samadov's appointment failed to declare itself open for a long time because of the absence of lawmakers from Leninabad," the diplomat said.

In his words, "the superiority" of the Kulyab region's representatives, led by the incumbent President Imamali Rakhmanov, could have triggered tragic events, similar to those from which the republic has not yet recovered."

Nonetheless, the expert regards the very fact of Abdullojanov's resignation as "symptomatic." "Of course, the republic is going through an economic crisis and is pressed for rubles (Tajikistan is the Commonwealth's sole Asian republic to stay in the Russian ruble zone - IF). But it would hardly be fair to lay the whole blame at Abdullojanov's door. Apparently aware of that, Dushanbe appointed him ambassador to Moscow shortly after his resignation, the diplomat said, and added that Russian diplomats had repeatedly warned Tajik leaders against career squabbles. [no end quotation marks as received]

Baltic Fleet Command Denies Illegal Helicopter Sale*WS2712152293 Tallinn BNS in English 1006 GMT 27
Dec 93*

[Text] Moscow, Dec 27, BNS—The Baltic Fleet Command decisively refuted the allegation on its participation in the illegal selling of 10 helicopters to Lithuania published in the newspaper "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA".

The article called "The Baltic States Will Love Russia Until the Last Pit" says that the Smolensk KGB officers had prevented an illegal selling of 10 military helicopters MI-8MTV-1 to Lithuania through the Russian air transport company "Vityaz" and the Lithuanian association "Selma" early this summer.

According to the newspaper, the first two helicopters were to fly from Yaroslavl to Kaunas where there were two similar helicopters with the same registration code

on the board. The substitute helicopters were thereafter to leave for Kaliningrad legally and those which would come from Yaroslavl would remain there forever.

According to the newspaper, the operation has failed at the very first stage due "to the self-assurance of the pilots who landed for additional refuelling at the military launching site in Vitebsk. This fraudulence leads to the Baltic Fleet commanders and very high-ranking officials who often appear on TV."

Acting Commander of the Baltic Fleet, Vice Admiral Viktor Kravchenko announced to BNS that the results of an appropriate investigation allowed to affirm that nobody from the fleet's command or the fleet air forces' command had participated in the fraudulence with the selling of helicopters to Lithuania.

The Baltic Fleet has had no agreements with the Russian air transport company "Vityaz." Kravchenko reassured that after the detailed departmental investigation was finished all the material which documentarily refutes the allegations would be transferred to the newspaper. If the newspaper refuses to publish a refutation, the Baltic Fleet command will sue it.

The vice admiral confirmed that the Baltic Fleet actively cooperated with the association Selma which was building living blocs for the Baltic Fleet sailors withdrawn from the Baltic states.

However, this "cooperation is carried out strictly in accordance with the program adopted by the Russian government," Kravchenko pointed out.

Commentary Sees Foreign Arms Sales as 'Necessity'

LD2712223293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1810 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] The prime minister of Malaysia, Mahathir bin Mohamed, said that his country has decided to buy 18 Russian MiG-29 fighters and that the contract will be signed in January 1994. The prime minister made this statement at the Langkawi international maritime and aerospace exhibition in Malaysia. The following commentary has been prepared by Vladislav Kozyakov:

At present, Russia has to reestablish the positions it has lost. Only a few years ago the former Soviet Union was almost on a par with the United States at the international arms market. But now, as compared with the United States and other Western arms exporters, Russia has fallen behind, out and away.

Of course, the best way would be to work out an agreement limiting the trade of military equipment. But while the agreement is not reached, Russia has no fewer

economic reasons to develop this business than, for example, the United States, especially as today the sales of arms in Russia is an absolute necessity, since it helps to find funds for the conversion of the war production industries and for reforms. And if the reforms in Russia are successful, the whole world will gain too.

It is significant that the contract concerning the supplies of 18 Russian MiG-29 fighters shows that Russia is gaining access to the region where U.S. corporations have a dominant position.

The Malaysian air forces are equipped with American F-5E planes. Some of them will be soon replaced by FA-18 planes, produced by the McDonnell Douglas company. The air forces of Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore are equipped with F-16 planes, produced by the General Dynamics company. And now Malaysia has adopted a decision to make the Russian MiG-29 fighter the main battle plane of its air forces.

The prime minister of Malaysia, Mahathir bin Mohamed, was quoted as saying that he would have bought even more than 18 MiG's, as the contract provided, if he had had more funds.

Of course, in the first place, the interest generated by the Russian military equipment is explained by its excellent qualities, as was noted by the leaders of Malaysia, who were watching the demonstration flights of the MiG-29 fighters at the exhibition in Langkawi. They could make their choice since the planes and other armaments produced by 375 firms from (?23) countries were exhibited in Langkawi.

Other countries have also fiercely competed to conclude a contract on the purchasing of the Russian military equipment. At the recent international aerospace exhibition in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates, 33 countries demonstrated their armaments. At the exhibition the Russian pilots showed that the high fighting qualities of their planes were even better than those of the American and French fighters.

It was after the exhibition in Dubai that Kuwait concluded a number of contracts with the Russians, concerning the supplies of Russian military equipment. At present the talks are being held with some other countries on the same issue.

Moscow believes that export of arms is pure business. No policy is meant here. [Word indistinct] there are offices of Russian firms in the United States, Switzerland, Turkey, Germany, and the United Arab Emirates. In the near future the export of arms from Russia may reach \$9 billion a year, which means that it will be approximately four times as much as in 1992.

At the same time, Russia is ready to strictly carry out the UN decisions henceforth, and to undeviatingly observe other international agreements.

Election Aftermath**Commission Decree on State Duma Election Results**

PM2812093193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Decree No. 155 of the Central Electoral Commission signed by Commission Chairman N.T. Ryabov and Commission Secretary V.A. Zagulyayev and dated Moscow, 25 December 1993: "On Determining the Overall Results of the Election of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] Elections of deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation were held 12 December 1993.

On the basis of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission protocol dated 25 December 1993 on the results of elections in federal electoral districts, the protocols from district electoral commissions on the results of the elections of deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, and in accordance with Article 40 of the Statute on Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has determined that the vote has resulted in the election of 444 deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, being 225 deputies from federal electoral districts and 219 deputies from single-seat electoral districts.

Elections were not held in five electoral districts on the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan: Almet'yevskiy No. 23 Electoral District, Moskovskiy No. 24 Electoral District, Nizhnekamskiy No. 26 Electoral District, and Privolzhskiy No. 27 Electoral District. The total number of valid ballot papers in each of the above electoral districts represented less than 25 percent of the total number of registered voters. Elections of deputy in Naberezhnochelnyinskiy No. 25 Electoral District were not held because only one candidate was registered.

Elections were not held in No. 32 Electoral District (Chechen Republic).

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The elections of deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation from federal electoral districts and 219 single-seat electoral districts are deemed valid.
2. The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission announcement on the overall results of the election of deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and the list of State Duma deputies are to be published in the press.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow, 25 December 1993

Commentary Views Election Results, Yeltsin News Conference

PM2712123193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 3

["Topic of the Week" commentary by Aleksandr Golts: "Understanding Your Own People"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's news conference was the main event of the week not only in Russia but also, I think, throughout the world. It was awaited impatiently because people wanted to know the supreme authority's response and reaction to the ambivalent election results. Because, to be honest, it was hard to describe the things written and said by some representatives of the presidential team and the government since 12 December as a considered and convincing response. Infighting and recriminations against people of like mind were intermingled with complaints about the naivety and incompetence of Russians, who allowed the loquacious Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to win the day.

Many people wondered whether this time too it would all be reduced to looking for culprits. If so, it would have been possible to say that Russian reformers have again "been unlucky with this country's people." Who in times past rapidly lost faith in the benefits of the oprichnina [system of government by administrative elite established by Czar Ivan IV], of "opening a window" on Europe, of giving land to peasants released from communes, of building a radiant communist future, and also of combatting alcoholism and participating in pere-stroyka....

And all for the same reason. Russian reformers have always been too busy. With combatting the boyars, intriguing in the Winter Palace, skirmishing with opponents in the inner Soviet of People's Commissars or the Politburo, and—in recent years—infighting in the Supreme Soviet.. Too busy to convey to the people the point of what was happening. And even when they did so, they never told the people the whole truth. This is because, by virtue of some strange, maybe subconscious dependence, Russian reformers of every age seem to have been somewhat in fear of their own people. They have seen them as a testing ground for experiments, as some kind of object which at best can be compelled to do so-and-so or such-and-such. But no way as an ally.

And people in every century have reacted accordingly. For example, they were driven into the forests and the steppes. Where, sooner or later, a Grigoriy Otrelyev or Nestor Makhno emerged. These people promised immediate happiness. Which meant sharing everything out quickly and fairly. The authorities declared war on these leaders, who today we would describe as populist. Then sedition would begin, or a civil war in which, as a rule, the reforms themselves would also perish.

The uncomfortable feelings which many people have been experiencing in recent days stem, in my view, not only from the fact that certain figures' extremist slogans might become reality. I do not believe that this is possible today. It is likely that some people, like me, have been caused anxiety by something else. By the fact that we have been dragged into the eternal Russian vicious circle of reform followed by sedition followed by dictatorship. A vicious circle from which the country has been unable to find a way out for centuries.

And then came the Kremlin news conference. In my view, the main point in the analysis offered by Boris Yeltsin is that fact that he did not only not start looking for culprits but immediately agreed with the people's opinion. As I understand it, he has identified—and quite rightly—the main problem highlighted by the elections. And, in my view, this problem does not even lie in the reforms themselves. It lies in the worsened relationship between the authorities and the people.

Indeed, let us be frank, millions and millions of people are not comfortable in what we call the market economy. They see in it only mounting material and everyday difficulties. And, this being the case, the popularity of those who level severe criticism at the government is no more than a consequence. And if it hadn't been this, it would have been some other symbol of protest. But the president also saw something which might be an even more serious danger. The apparently vanishing division between "those at the top," who at this time are "unable," and "those at the bottom," who are still "unwilling," has reemerged in the public consciousness. And, I would note, this has been encouraged to a considerable extent by the actions of new officials from the democrats' camp with their incompetence and often overt greed.

This is why Boris Yeltsin talked about the need for a radical change in the style of leadership. About the need for maximum accessibility, the need for objective sources of information. This—in addition to the constitution, of course—is the real precondition for the creation of really strong authority. And when we talk about this strength, it has nothing at all to do with a readiness to use the so-called power ministries. Down the centuries power has derived its strength from the opinion of the people. And it must therefore be able to hear and heed this opinion.

But, this being the case, there must be a definite revision of the strategy of the reforms themselves. It is now clear that the main role of the reformers is not to apply, no matter what, maybe correct but nonetheless general formulas.

The lesson is obvious: The actual role of the reformers is to find solutions which are applicable in Russia. Solutions which do not entail the threat of a social explosion. This, judging by his words, is also how Boris Yeltsin sees the concept of reforms. There is also another positive element in his approach. This is to be found in his firm

statement of intent to be guided by the constitution and build his relationship with the new parliament on this basis. As we can see, the president is in no hurry to divide parliamentarians into "clean" and "unclean" purely on the basis of their pre-election declarations.

This approach is also important because in recent months and weeks a section of representatives of the democratic camp—sensing a decline in the people's support—have started to pin their hopes on the model of "enlightened authoritarianism." A model which in Russian conditions will inevitably lead first to sedition and then to dictatorship. And which would be fatal for the reforms, of course.

Nevertheless the words spoken at this week's news conference give hope that the current reform will not turn into sedition. Nor must it. This, I am sure, is what the people want.

Yeltsin To Address New Parliament 11 Jan

LD2712145293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin will address the first joint meeting of both chambers of the new Russian Parliament on January 11 after which members of the Federation Council and of the State Duma will work separately, Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, told lawmakers on Monday [27 December].

The first meeting of the State Duma is being prepared by five commissions which deal with accommodation for the working bodies of the lower chamber, the work with factions, the agenda of the first meeting, the creation of Duma committees, the procedural rules and the status of deputies. The commissions are expected to work up to January 6, according to Filatov.

From January 8 "intensive meetings" of Duma members with the government will begin as "deputies will undoubtedly want to get acquainted with affairs in the state and the economic situation", Filatov said.

He added that nobody plans to "impose any documents for discussion on the Federal Assembly" and lawmakers will decide themselves with what to begin.

Shumeyko Chosen To Organize Federation Council

LD2812114993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice premier of the government, as chairman of the organizing committee for

preparing and holding sessions of the Federation Council, the upper chamber of Russia's Federal Assembly.

Parliament's Draft Standing Orders Outlined

PM2412170993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24
Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Aleksandr Lugovskaya report: "New Standing Orders Preclude Appearance of New Khasbulatov in Parliament"]

[Text] Russian citizens who take a look at the results of their own voting await the start of the January session of the Federal Assembly with alarm, and for good reasons—their memories are too fresh and the future is too vague. Will those they have elected not spawn a new Khasbulatov, will the country not shudder with new political convulsions? The author of the draft of the Federal Assembly's standing orders which have just been drawn up, Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Russian Federation President's Legislative Proposals Commission, gives a straightforward answer: no.

M. Mityukov, who used to head the Committee for Legislation in the Supreme Soviet and who is newly elected to the State Duma, imparts such great significance to the rigorous code of procedures which govern parliamentary life down to the merest detail and which guarantee the juridical effectiveness of the Federal Assembly's work, that it cannot be called anything other than a "Minor Constitution." The draft standing orders are based on the norms of the new Constitution and the bitter lessons of Russian parliamentarism. However, he is not laboring under any delusions: The deputies will do all they can to overturn the majority of provisions in the document and to thereby throw off their future fetters.

Insofar as the chief reason for the recent confrontation between the authorities with its tragic denouement for the country was not just the sovereignty of the soviets, the Congress, and the Supreme Soviet, but also the totally unrestricted power of the Supreme Soviet chairman, of his deputies, and of the presidium, and their brazen interference in matters which come within the competence of the president and the government, so the new standing orders prescribe with the utmost legal precision the functions of the speakers of both chambers: namely, the conduct of sittings and the management of the internal routine. There will be no encroachments on the activity of the parliamentary committees and on the freedom of the factions. The presidiums are abolished.

There is one more vital feature—for the purpose of saving deputies' time and for enhancing the quality of the documents and for speeding their passage, the discussion of draft laws is transferred directly to committees.

With the adoption of the new Constitution, M. Mityukov explained, the roles in the state have been redistributed and now parliament has been assigned the

functions of lawmaking and legislation. While the President realizes both domestic and foreign policy, but on the basis of federal laws and the Constitution. In the event that a law threatening the stability of the state is adopted by the Federal Assembly, the president is invested with the right to send the law back for reworking.

The Federal Assembly is merely a conventional association of two autonomous chambers: the Federation Council and the State Duma. In actual fact, as is the accepted practice in developed countries, they operate as checks and balances in relationship to each other. The basic "supplier" of draft laws is the State Duma while the upper house is a controller. It either approves the documents sent to it, or turns them down. Hence the different standing orders for the two chambers and the independent rules of play.

After election of part of the deputies of the State Duma in accordance with the party principle, the faction becomes the basic political "dramatis persona" here. An important condition is that the chairman of the Duma and both his deputies have to belong to different factions. There will be nine factions and apart from that independent deputies can create their own groups too. Instead of a presidium, a Conference is envisaged composed of the leading "triumvirate," and delegations from the factions and groups with voting rights; their proportional numerical strength will be 103, for instance, for Russia's Choice, and 66 for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. The chairmen of parliamentary committees have a consultative vote. However, the role of the conference is exclusively organizational: to draw up draft programs for the sessions; to approve the agendas; to convene extraordinary sittings of the chambers at the request of the president, government, or an individual faction; and to send draft laws for preliminary examination by committees. The possibility is laid down in the draft standing orders for a deputy to be recalled by a bloc or by a party and for his replacement by another from the reserve list.

The parliamentary committees are also formed according to the "party principle" but their main task is the legal working up of draft laws. And for that reason there will only be 10 of them and a further five "by way of an exception." They are conceived of as mini-parliaments in terms of their numerical and professional composition.

A special place is occupied by the committee for the organization of the internal activity of the State Duma which will monitor the activity of the "topmost level" and of the conference and devote itself to procedure and standing orders, cadre policy, ethical questions, and material and technical supply. And it will thereby eliminate the levers for the manipulation of deputies which were used so sweepingly by the former chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Such a complex—at first glance—structure, M. Mityukov concluded, boils down, in fact, to a very

comprehensible formula which reposes in the standing orders: On the one hand, a weak chairman of the State Duma and the conference which limits his powers, and on the other hand politically strong factions and professionally strong parliamentary committees. Political passions will undoubtedly rage within the walls of the Duma but on the other hand the country will receive well-rounded laws.

The activity of the Federation Council is built on the principle of federalism [federativnost]. Insofar as the deputies do not work on a permanent basis, as in the State Duma, the scheme of leadership of the "House of Lords" is more centralized. The only permanent organ is the Bureau made up both of the leaders of the Federation Council and of the chairmen of committees who also work on a permanent basis. Instead of a political qualification a "native region" qualification has been introduced for the speaker of the chamber and his deputies—they must represent different components of the Federation. Apart from that, one deputy must be delegated from a republic and one from an oblast, kray, or city of federal status. The power of the chairman and his deputies is limited by the extensive powers of the Bureau and the role of general controller is invested in the committee for standing orders, procedure, and ethics.

The duties of the Bureau include "chasing" draft laws which come in from the State Duma, while the committees meet as the need arises. Insofar as the Federation Council is required to reflect the interests of nascent Russian federalism, the thrust of its committees also accords with this objective, M. Mityukov stressed. The main committees are for questions of the Federation and regional policy, and on financial, currency, credit, and customs regulation. The remaining six in some respects duplicate those of the Duma because they have to provide competent conclusions regarding the draft laws being adopted there. He also singled out the exclusive area of competence of the Federation Council—to appoint the general prosecutor and the judges of the Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, and Superior Court of Arbitration.

As far as joint sittings of the chambers is concerned, that is, of the Federation Council, M. Mityukov said as he concluded our conversation, these are possible only in certain cases, laid down in the Constitution: when the president takes the oath, when hearing annual state of the nation messages by the president and messages from the Constitutional Court, and also when the Russian parliament is being addressed by leaders of foreign states.

Parliament Commission Defines Rules of Procedure

MK2812104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Kris Khokli report in the "Lawmaking" column: "The Draft Federation Council Statute Has Been Approved. The Draft Law on the Status of the Duma Deputy Is Yet To Be Finalized"]

[Text] Yesterday a regular session of the Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation president took place. It considered three questions: the approval of the draft law "On the Status of Deputy of the Federation Council of the First Convocation and Deputy of the State Duma of the First Convocation;" the draft statute of the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly of the first convocation; and consideration of the regulations on the Secretariat of the State Duma and the Secretariat of the Federal Assembly, POST-FACTUM reported.

Although the draft law on deputy status was submitted for discussion a fourth time, commission members did not approve it. It was decided to continue work on it and to consider it at the next session. It was also decided to continue work on the regulations on the State Duma Secretariat and the Federal Assembly Secretariat. The draft statute on the Federation Council has been approved incorporating the amendments made in the process of discussion; it was decided to submit it the Federation Assembly's organizing committee.

The approved draft statute on the Federation Council provides in particular that with a few exceptions the Council will hold its sessions openly. Considerable attention is given to guarantees of the rights and duties of Council members. Thus, the question of stripping a deputy of immunity is decided on the initiative of the Russian Federation general prosecutor based on a ruling by the Procedures, Rules of Order, and Ethics Committee. Council members may not be held liable for an opinion expressed, a voting decision, and other actions compatible with the status of the deputy even upon expiration of his term. Procedures for electing the Council chairman and his two deputies are spelled out in detail and their functions are rigidly defined. Thus, the chairman may include in the agenda only two questions at his own discretion: on elections to fill a vacant post of his deputy, and on filling vacancies on the Council's committees. To ensure preliminary preparation of organizational decisions in the chamber a Federation Council Bureau is to be created.

The draft also provides for the creation of eight committees which will be conducting the main work on draft laws and organizing parliamentary hearings. These include the Constitutional Legislation and Judicial Reform Committee, the Federation and Regional Policy Committee, the Security Committee, the Defense and International Affairs Committee, the Social Policy Committee, and so forth.

The draft defines procedures for holding Federation Council sessions, parliamentary hearings, voting procedures, and other matters. A separate chapter is devoted to the procedure of submitting proposals for amending or revising the provisions of the Russian Federation Constitution and on impeaching the Russian Federation president.

Parties Favor Using 'White House' for State Duma

LD2712134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1211 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—All eight party groups represented at the State Duma (lower chamber of the new Russian parliament) adopted a unanimous decision: to request the Russian president to return them the former parliament building given to the Russian Government after the October 3-4 tragic events in Moscow, ITAR-TASS learnt from some lawmakers on Monday [27 December].

In their opinion, the Russian "White House" is more suitable for parliamentary work than buildings offered to legislators: the townhall on the Novy Arbat Street and the press house on the Bolshaya Dmitrovka street (former Pushkin Street).

Parliamentarians have not decided as yet whether to work in one or different buildings. There are various examples in world practice: U.S. senators and members of the House of Representatives, for instance, work at one building, while in France—in different palaces.

Some deputies believe that autonomy and full independence of the chambers from each other, provided for by the Constitution, can be observed when they work in one building. True, the White House has no hall which can accommodate members of the two chambers for joint sessions.

However, such sessions will be very rare. The White House conference hall cannot accommodate even all 450 members of the State Duma. But, in their opinion, "the situation is redeemable: the hall can be enlarged at the expense of the hall's foyer".

There is also a suggestion to accommodate the State Duma at the White House and the Federation Council (upper chamber) at the townhall.

'Russia's Choice' Election Association Meets

LD2712174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1454 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The first session of the faction of the "Russia's Choice" election association in the State Duma was held today. The association's representatives elected from the federal and single-seat constituencies discussed issues of the faction's internal organization and adopted as a basis a draft of its regulations. The faction's members have been given a package of documents which have been prepared for the first session of the State Duma by the commission for legislative proposals under the president of Russia.

Yegor Gaydar, leader of the Russia's Choice bloc, made a statement on the current political situation and

reported on the course of the talks between the leaders of the parliamentary fractions.

The press center of the Russia's Federal Assembly reported that in conclusion the faction of the "Russia's Choice" election bloc unanimously approved an appeal to President Boris Yeltsin requesting that his decision on the Federation Council being housed in the Russian press house be reviewed.

Communist Faction Proposes Items for Duma Agenda

PM2812111393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 4

["Proposals From a Group of Experts of the Communist Faction in State Duma Examined at Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Executive Committee Plenum"]

[Text] It is proposed that the following drafts be submitted for discussion by the State Duma:

In the sphere of safeguarding human rights:

1. A law on labor collectives.
2. A law on political opposition.

In the sphere of regulation of the economy:

3. A law on the main directions of economic reforms.
4. A law on the military-industrial complex and state encouragement of the development of science-intensive and high-technology production processes.
5. A law on land.
6. A law on the regulation of foreign investment.
7. A law on nonrenewable raw material resources.
8. A law on amendments and additions to tax legislation.
9. A law on fundamental principles of pricing.
10. A law on compensation for Russian citizens' savings.

In the sphere of legality and the fight against crime:

11. A law on combatting corruption in the civil service system.
12. A law on the State Monitoring Committee.

In the sphere of provisions for the activity of the State Duma:

Provision is to be made for the formation in the structure of the State Duma of:

13. A Credentials Commission.
14. A Committee for Legality and the Fight Against Crime.

In the sphere of juridical procedures:

A decision is to be adopted on forming:

15. A commission to elucidate the circumstances and socioeconomic consequences of the conclusion of the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements of 1991.

16. A commission to investigate the circumstances of the national tragedy of September-October 1993.

The commission of experts is continuing work. Specialists and all voters are invited to submit their proposals.

Drafts Bills

LD2712143393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Communist Party has drafted a number of bills for debate in the State Duma, the Russian Parliament's Lower House which begins its work on January 11.

The communists collected 12% of the electorate at the polls on December 12 and secured 32 seats on the federal list of candidates, 16 seats on the one-mandate roster, plus 11 seats in the Federation Council.

According to lawyer Valentin Kovalev, a Duma member from the Communist Party, a group of experts has drafted a political opposition bill to gain an official status for the opposition, special time on national television and radio, and an opportunity to address the nation live within 24 hours after an emergency.

Kovalev said that a large package of economic bills contained economic reform and privatization guidelines, aimed at denationalizing state-run enterprises and handing them over to workers.

A bill on the military-industrial complex and on state control over high technology production calls for "changing the trend and pace of the munitions industry conversion to civilian use" and upholding Russia's positions on the international market of technologies.

Communist Party experts disagree with the concept of the presidential decree on land to be debated in parliament. They primarily object to the sale of land for purposes other than farming and demand that farmland must be indispensably made part of state property.

The party is prepared to submit its version of legislation on regulated foreign investment with certain restrictions, above all toward "unreplenished natural resources."

The communists also intend to recommend that the Duma appeal to Russia's Supreme Court to terminate the case on an attempted coup in August of 1991 on the grounds that, according to Kovalev, "the situation has changed: the Soviet Union—a target of encroachment—no longer exists."

As is known, one of the defendants in this case, 63-year-old communist Anatoliy Lukyanov, the ex-Soviet Parliament Chairman, has been elected to the State Duma from the Smolensk constituency.

Abdulatipov Backs Expanded Powers for Federation Council

PM2712135993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "President Will Rely on Federation Council in Work with New Parliament, Federal Assembly Deputy Ramazan Abdulatipov Believes"]

[Text] The standings of the political forces are such that we have acquired a legislative organ where political polarization will mean even more than it did in the old parliament. Because of this the State Duma will be ineffective for at least six months—as long as the blocs and parties are sorting out where they stand, the main thing for the State Duma will be politics rather than the law. That is why, when I talk about parliament, I would concentrate more on the role of the Federation Council—not because I have been elected to it, but because the president, in his current policy, will clearly be relying mainly on the upper chamber. There are more sensible people in it, and there is no political polarization. Moreover, a large proportion of the Federation Council is made up of people who work in the executive and with whom the president finds it easier to reach agreement. And, clearly, the main issues of Russian statehood will be decided at the Federation Council. Unfortunately, the Federation Council's powers are limited under the Constitution. I think that they ought to be expanded to preserve the integrity of the Russian state, turning it into a truly federal state instead of the unitary state that it largely continues to be. Work will have to be done on this, and to this end it is time that we all stopped worrying about our own ambitions, sympathies, and antipathies and started thinking about the interests of the voters, the interests of the peoples, and—above all—the interests of the country and Russian statehood.

Military Issues

Defense Ministry Reportedly To Be Reorganized

MK2312113093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Defense Ministry To Be Reorganized"]

[Text] MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned from reliable sources that yet another power agency—the Russian Defense Ministry—will soon be reorganized.

The Russian president's staff is drawing up a document whereby virtually all functions concerning the command and control of troops will be turned over to the commander in chief—Boris Yeltsin. The General Staff is also planned to be resubordinated directly to the president. What will be left to the defense minister are some personnel-related matters (Armed Forces manpower acquisition by draft and so forth) and matters with regard to logistic support.

Meanwhile, Pavel Grachev, who is aware of these plans, is presently setting up mobile forces made up of the most performance-capable units, which he plans to subordinate directly to himself, bypassing service and combat arm commanders and the General Staff.

Generals Seen Imperiled

MK2412113093 Moscow OBSHCAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 23/25 24-31 Dec 93 (Signed to press 23 Dec) p 2

[Rodion Morozov report in the "Army" column: "Big Changes Are Looming in the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] According to confidential reports from reliable sources, recently a draft plan for reorganizing the control structure of the Russian Armed Forces has been submitted to the Russian president.

Under this draft, the General Staff is to be transferred from under the defense minister's jurisdiction and directly subordinated to the president—the supreme commander who will control the army. The minister will be mainly in charge of cadre, military-technical, military-economic and budgetary matters. The General Staff (whose chief, just like the minister, is also to be appointed by the president) will have purely executive functions: processing orders by the supreme commander and ensuring operational troop control. Thus Yeltsin's entourage hopes to neutralize Pavel Grachev's influence on the president, which has grown extensively in the recent period.

The defense minister's reaction to rumors about the upcoming reorganization has been rather peculiar. He immediately issued an order to corresponding services to accelerate, as far as possible, the creation of the so-called mobile forces—elite subdivisions that are to include the most battle worthy and best trained units and formations of the Russian Army (the core is to be constituted by Grachev's dear airborne troops). At its 20 December collegium session the Defense Ministry invited its members to make a decision on subordinating these forces directly to the defense minister (that is to say, to himself), bypassing all intermediate control levels.

Should this happen in a country which lacks a force that could counterbalance the emerging Grachev offspring, the president and his entourage would be forced to reckon with it.

The only thing on which Grachev and his ill-wishers from the president's camp agree is the need to "purge" the leading personnel of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. The most likely candidates tipped to be replaced are Deputy Ministers Colonel General Boris Gromov and Colonel General Valery Mironov. Up until recently Valery Mironov, who enjoys great respect in the army, has been in charge of personnel. However, following his sharp criticism of the army's position in the confrontation between the two power branches at a ministry collegium session in October, the Main Cadre

Directorate was removed from his jurisdiction. And just a few days ago a decision was made also to reorganize the Main Personnel Directorate, which is also in his charge, as the Personnel Indoctrination Directorate (which no longer has the status of a "glavk" [a main directorate]), with its staff and functions substantially trimmed.

Also hanging by a thread are chief commanders of the Air Forces (Colonel General Petr Deynekin), the Ground Forces (Colonel General Vladimir Semenov), the Airborne Forces (Colonel General Yevgeniy Podkolzin), and also Colonel General Leontiy Kuznetsov, Moscow Military District commander. This also goes for other lower ranking military servicemen who did not display due loyalty during the storming of the White House and in the elections to the Russian Federal Assembly.

There is also talk about a possible replacement of the General Staff chief. Colonel General Viktor Barynkin, chief of the Main Operations Directorate, is cited as a likely candidate for this post. It is known in particular that he was at the General Staff Academy together with Aleksandr Rutskoy and was well acquainted with the future vice president. It is also known that in October Viktor Mikhaylovich was in charge of the army units storming the Russian parliament building.

Reasons for Reorganization Viewed

MK2412112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report in the "Elections" column: "The Former Personnel Directorate Is Subjected to Yet Another Reorganization. The Military Thinks That the Balloting Was Secret"]

[Text] Addressing a press conference on Wednesday, President Yeltsin stated that "one-third of the army" has voted for Zhirinovskiy. Nonetheless the Defense Ministry continued to maintain that there are no reliable data on the military's 12 December voting on party slates because army servicemen voted mainly in general, public polling stations. In private conversations Defense Ministry representatives describe any talk about voting in the army as "irresponsible." True, so far it has been impossible to obtain any official comment from the military department because the country's top military leadership is temporarily absent from the Defense Ministry building on Arbat Square. (The defense minister and the chief of the General Staff are away on a business trip, and First Deputy Minister Andrey Kokoshin is ill).

This week (Tuesday) the Defense Ministry Collegium decided substantially to reorganize the Main Personnel Directorate (former GlavPUR). The former political propaganda bodies have been deemed "unreformable" and a decision has been made to abolish them. A working group headed by Army General Konstantin Kobets has been set up to work out specific proposals. The former GlavPUR, with a staff of more than 200, will be reorganized as a directorate with a staff of 30 to 40 people. Apparently the "question" of the former Lenin

Political Academy (presently the Humanitarian Academy) will also be "resolved," while the function of "indoctrinating" military servicemen has been entrusted to commanders and their first deputies. No one in the Defense Ministry really knows whether this decision is directly connected with the voting results and whether they exhaust the "measures" which, according to Boris Yeltsin, are already being taken following the balloting in the army.

True, after Boris Yeltsin's inadvertent public statement at the press conference about his "concern" over the results of voting in the army, any, even the most reasonable reorganization of the army, will apparently be perceived among officers as punishment for the "incorrect" voting in the general, ostensibly secret, free and equal elections. And, consequently, as an obvious violation of the basic civil rights and freedoms guaranteed by the new Constitution. The president may, of course, replace some generals with others, but he can hardly change the army even if he wanted to. Meanwhile any sharp reorganization of the armed forces at present can only increase the already substantial number of malcontents in the troops and upset the so-far reliable control system restored at such great pains following the disintegration of the USSR.

Soskovets Orders Finance Ministry To Pay Off Defense Debts

LD2412202693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Russian First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets has instructed the Finance Ministry to come up with the means with which to pay off the state's debts to enterprises for defense orders. This needs to be done before the end of the current year. A payment of between 600 and 700 billion rubles is at stake. Should the debt be canceled, around 1,500 of the country's defense sector enterprises will receive the resources they need to solve, above all, the social problems of defense workers.

Shakhray Interviewed on Defense Budget

LD2512015393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 0440 GMT 24 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Defense Ministry]

[Text] The problem of financing the Russian Armed Forces and defense enterprises remains topical. The subject is dwelt on by our correspondent in a conversation with Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Sergey Shakhray. This is what he said:

[Begin Shakhray recording] I personally find it rather difficult to speak about specific articles of the military budget. I would mention what I consider to be sore points.

The first one is this chain: the Ministry of Finance allocates money to the Ministry of Defense. The Ministry of Defense gives military orders to the scientific research institutes, the design bureau and the factories.

The Ministry of Finance keeps it for a month then another month or month and a half goes by and finally the Ministry of Defense... implements in September.

This is the main financial-budgetary... now. We consider that the military orders - this is a norm of the law - the military orders should be brought at the end of the third quarter or the fourth quarter and no later of the current year. In the next year in the first quarter or first half of the year things should be looked into, the military orders should be advanced. Inflation is leading to calculations being made in completely different money than that which was promised during the placing of the military order. This is plain swindling, as they say.

Furthermore, we consider there should be a change in the tactics or even the strategy of the attitude to production and sale of military equipment. The state should give up the permit system and in a president's decree or special law it should specify the types of armaments which are banned from sale and the countries to which equipment cannot be supplied. Everything else should have the right to be done in the registration mode as they say. The enterprise itself which manufactures the military equipment plus those state companies to which the right is granted. The turnover of funds for the manufacture and sale of military equipment would be accelerated many times over.

Instead of the convoluted communications between the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Defense and the military-industrial complex, you get direct communications between the enterprise producing the military equipment with financing by the defense ministry and (?added emphasis) on the social and welfare clauses of the budget.

Therefore I would highlight three main problems in the defense budget: protected clauses in the budget such as those to do with servicemen's pay and their social welfare, in particular for units being deployed to Russian territory and for construction, and so forth. The second part of the military budget is financing in accordance with the military budget key directions within the military-industrial complex, in particular computer and other new technologies which determine advances in military technology. This, perhaps, is the most important aspect of the defense budget. [no third point as heard] [end recording]

Official Presents Data on Conversion, Defense Industry

LD2412164693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1340 GMT on 24 December carries on its "Mayak Panaroma" program an interview with the

chairman of the State Committee for the Defense Industries, Viktor Konstantinovich Glukhikh, by Vladimir Mikhaylenko.

Glukhikh says conversion started in 1989 and it is taking place in very difficult conditions, because immediate conversion of 68 percent has not been effected by any other country. Most conversion goes at the rate of 3-5 percent a year.

Asked how the defense industry looks in facts and figures today, Glukhikh says: "We have more than 2,000 enterprises, more than 4,500,000 workers, including 800,000 of which are those working in the scientific sphere and that is 60 percent of the scientific potential of the country. And just over 70 closed towns forming works, i.e. works-settlements or town-works."

Asked what proportion of military orders there are now, he says: "Its overall amount today does not exceed 20-plus percent, and the rest is mainly work on civilian subject matter, the military-industrial complex having reduced the output of military equipment and at the same time having increased the volume of equipment for civilian designation—refrigerators, TV sets, washing machines, bicycles, motorcycles. All the most complex household equipment has been produced by the military industrial complex. Again, few people are aware that we also make bakeries, we make all kinds of automatic textile equipment, we today make sausage factories. Even this year we have increased sale of consumer goods abroad by 35 percent."

Asked if he is gladdened most by sales of MiGs abroad or sales of thermos flasks here he says he is glad of both. A lot of enterprises have been turned into joint stock companies this year, he says without going into details.

Mikhaylenko suggests conversion is expensive and says that Glukhikh said that to convert a cartridge works to a thermos flask works you have to spend about two rubles for every ruble of military output converted.

Mikhaylenko says everyone should do what they are best at and so if you are good at making tanks and submarines you should do that. Glukhikh says that you have to make what people want.

Asked if defense orders for 1994 will be increased, Glukhikh says they will remain what they were for 1993. We need stability and to be able to look ahead. He hopes difficulties in the industry will not last too long and wishes everyone a happy new year.

Comments on Defense Orders

MK2512095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[Yelena Belova from ADS report under the "Military-Industrial Sector" rubric: "Defense Orders Will Not Be Cut in 1994. Trade in State-of-the-Art Weapons Is More Profitable Than Conversion. Defense Community Believes"]

[Text] In January-November 1993 military production remained at last year's level. Civilian production by military-industrial sector enterprises dropped by 16 percent. The 1994 defense orders will remain unchanged compared with 1993. This was said by Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Defense Industries Committee, in a press conference on 23 December devoted to the results of the sector's 11 months of operations.

The defense sector currently includes over 2,000 enterprises and 660 scientific institutions (60 percent of the country's scientific potential). Mr. Glukhikh pointed out that no state in the world has ever attempted to carry out privatization and conversion at the same time. Hence, he thinks it is not due to prosperity that only 14 conversion programs that began in 1992 were financed in 1993, but no new ones have been launched. If a plant is to be converted to civilian uses, it is necessary to invest 1.2 rubles instead of each ruble that would have been spent on manufacturing military products.

Military-industrial sector enterprises retained their exports at last year's level, namely \$1.9 billion. The defense industry plans to sell in the future not only its quantity-production combat equipment, but also state-of-the-art models, such as Su-35's, although with regard to arms exports the government is still guided primarily by the current military political situation, not by economic considerations. According to Gennadiy Yampolskiy, committee deputy chairman, research and development products and services (technologies, licenses, testing, etc.) account for 20 percent of total exports. For instance, TSAGI [Central Aero- and Hydrodynamics Institute] makes a fairly good living thanks precisely to foreign orders for testing. It is apparently defense sector science's successful performance that affected Boris Yeltsin's decision to appropriate as much as 10 percent for its development, instead of the 5 percent earmarked in last year's military budget.

Viktor Glukhikh believes that the president has made "an absolutely correct decision" by ordering the creation of the "Rosvooruzheniye" state-owned company on the basis of the "Oboroneksport" foreign trade association, the "Spetsvneshtekhnika" state foreign trade company, and the State Administration for Cooperation. In his view, it is essential to set up an organization that would be interested as much as possible in producers who are striving to create and "to sell not only weapons removed from operational status in the army, but state-of-the-art technology." According to Gennadiy Yampolskiy, "it is maddening that we have something to offer, but it does not sell. As far as I know, organizations dealing with arms exports are fairly well-off, though. To all appearances, being effective monopolies in arms trade they are more interested in selling "gear" or something like that instead of weapons."

Committee Favors Expanding Arms Export

LD2712213893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1225 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec—One of the main measures aimed at expanding Russia's export of arms and military technologies should include granting their designers and producers the right of independent access to the world armaments market. This view is upheld by the Russian Committee for Defense Industries. Together with other interested departments, the committee has prepared a draft government decision "On granting enterprises the right to participate in the Russian Federation's military and technological cooperation with foreign countries."

Talking to an *ITAR-TASS* correspondent today about the steps being planned in order that Russia resume her place in the world armaments market, Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the committee, said that the draft decision envisages certification of the enterprises striving to get this right. Only enterprises prepared for this activity are expected to be granted permission to independently export armaments and military technologies. These enterprises will be guided by the procedure established in the country which stipulates that government permission and a license should be obtained for each specific deal in the sphere of military and technological cooperation. In addition to exporting armaments and military technologies manufactured in excess of the state order, the enterprises will also be in charge of servicing, repairing, updating, and providing spares.

V. Glukhikh stressed that the draft does not contradict the edict on reorganizing the foreign economic associations of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and establishing the "Rosvooruzheniye" [Russian armaments] state company, that Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed recently. In his view, the state monopoly on export of arms is ensured by the procedure established in the country: The government issues decisions on each deal, regardless of its size, and a state body issues an export license.

At the same time, V. Glukhikh admitted that certain people regard (or would like to regard) state monopoly as the monopoly of a single enterprise (for instance, "Rosvooruzheniye"). This is unacceptable, the committee's head believes. Therefore, we cannot rule out that attempts are possible to deprive enterprises of the right to export arms and, naturally, to block the decision that has been prepared. Incidentally, according to unofficial information, the passing of the decision has already been suspended under the pretext of "the need to amend the system of military and technological cooperation in connection with the presidential edict."

Yeltsin Appoints Head of Arms Company

LD2812111593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1058 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed by his decree Viktor Samoylov as director-general of the state company for the export and import of arms and military equipment, "Rosvooruzheniye", the press office of the Russian president announced on Tuesday.

Prior to the appointment, Samoylov held positions of deputy chief of the main personnel directorate of the CIS armed forces and adviser of first deputy prime minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

Kokoshin Discusses Financial, Communication Issues

LD2412213893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1451 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec— A meeting today between Andrey Kokoshin, deputy minister of defense of the Russian Federation, with the commanders in chief and heads of staff of the branches of the Armed Forces discussed financial and economic provisions for a long-term program. An *ITAR-TASS* correspondent was informed at the Information and Press Department of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry that communication, tactical command and control, reconnaissance, supply of mobile forces, and high-precision weaponry will be given priority in the development of the Russian army. It is expected that particular attention will be given to equipping in full the fighting man on the battlefield.

Commander Discusses Border Guard Troops' Problems

PM2312130193 Moscow *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian* 10 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Andrey Nikolayev, commander of Russian Border Guard Troops, by Aleksandr Rybakov "on a flight from Murmansk to Moscow"; date not given: "With the Closure of External Borders, Internal Borders Will Open"—last three paragraphs are Rybakov postscript]

[Text] This interview was given by the 44-year-old colonel general on a flight from Murmansk to Moscow. Incidentally, until August this year, A. Nikolayev was first deputy chief of the Defense Ministry General Staff. The energetic general does not waste time. He has been on more than a dozen trips in the last four months. The most recent one was to our northern borders.

[Nikolayev] Economically, the North and the Arctic are becoming increasingly important to Russia. As much as 80 percent of mineral carbides, 60 percent of raw minerals, and many precious metals, particularly nickel, are

mined in this region. With the opening of the Northern Sea Route to foreign vessels, considerable opportunities to obtain hard currency are appearing. All this requires a stronger border and the creation of new checkpoints and customs offices.

Border guards' tasks are becoming more complex, if you consider that cuts are being made in the Armed Forces. We are currently engaged in setting up a structure to administer a group of border guard troops in the Arctic. We intend to organize the Northern Group of Border Guard Troops next year. We may even form a border district in the future. We have reached mutual understanding with Yevgeniy Komarov, head of Murmansk Oblast Administration. They have promised to provide one-half of the housing required by the new administrative structure.

Of course, there are unresolved problems concerning stores, apartment maintenance, and finances. But these problems will be resolved in the near future. Border guard staff will be reinforced as a result of cuts in military personnel in Leningrad Military District and the Northern Fleet.

[Rybakov] What do you remember most from your meetings with border guards?

[Nikolayev] People believe that border guard troops are not being forgotten. Pilots are eager to fly and seamen are eager to sail. We have received more money in the first four months of the second half of the year than in the first half of the year. By the end of the year, the government will have allocated all the resources we requested to guard our borders.

[Rybakov] During your meetings with border guards, did you sense their concern about housing after their transfer to the reserve?

[Nikolayev] It is a sore subject. I feel that organizing construction cooperatives is one solution. According to the law, an officer or warrant officer with more than 10 years' service has the right to take out a loan of up to 5 million rubles [R]; 25 percent must be repaid immediately, and the remainder over a period of 20 years. We are encouraging this.

[Rybakov] What is the situation along our borders as a whole? Can we sleep peacefully in the knowledge that the enemy will not catch us unawares?

[Nikolayev] Our borders are reliably protected. But there are a considerable number of attempts to cross them illegally. Particularly in the south. This year, we have detained 3,000 trespassers and seized contraband worth R4 billion, 1,000 firearms, and some 300 kg of narcotics. On the border with the Baltic republics alone, we have prevented more than 1,000 tonnes of nonferrous metals and 390 tonnes of fuels and lubricants from being taken out of the country. The Russian Federation has lost almost \$15 billion as a result of hard currency crossing

the border illegally. We need a unified concept of border protection in order to reliably protect our national interests.

The resources allocated to us are inadequate. The United States has the equivalent of 3.2 ships and launches to patrol an area of 100,000 square meters, whereas we only have the equivalent of 1.2. As a result, some 7,500 ships have entered Russia's inland waters in the South Kurils. The Poles fish up to 1 million tonnes of cod in the Sea of Okhotsk. Chinese factory ships also cause us considerable loss. Border guards are a special breed of people. But patriotism alone is not enough. The officer staff is currently short of 7,000 men, and the same number do not have apartments. Our plan to build 4,200 apartments is still at the discussion stage.

[Rybakov] The Soviet Union has disintegrated and the full burden of guarding our external borders has fallen on Russia. How does this work in practice?

[Nikolayev] Russian border guard troops operate in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan on the basis of treaties and agreements. At the second level, Russian border guard troops operate in the structures of national troops, such as in Turkmenistan, for example. We work along the same lines in Azerbaijan. At the third level, we cooperate in the protection of state borders on the basis of special agreements with Belarus and Kazakhstan. Agreements with Uzbekistan and Ukraine are being studied.

Not everything is straightforward with Ukraine at present. The border has not even been defined, let alone demarcated. There is a vast pile of documents to get through. Just imagine, someone's garden stands on Russian territory, but the house itself is in Ukraine. A water tower supplies water to Russians and Ukrainians. Working groups responsible for demilitarization must be set up. But this work will take years. In the meantime, behind every garden are people of one nation and three sovereign Slav states. There must be a quite different system for protecting borders. Perhaps border guards on both sides could work together in customs and prevent people from third states from crossing the border with weapons and drugs.

Incidentally, the last modernization of checkpoints on a nationwide scale was carried out in readiness for the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Statistics show that 12 million people crossed Russia's border in 1913, 2 million in 1988-1989, and 32 million this year.

[Rybakov] Andrey Ivanovich, where are you going next?

[Nikolayev] Sochi. Just three or four years ago, it would never have entered my head that this place could become a frontier. All kinds of people are influencing the situation there. The Confederation of Caucasian Peoples, the Cossacks.... People feel worn down. Normal people are going round the bend, trying to take in events. The Abkhaz do not recognize the border with Georgia and vent their anger on the border guards.... [Nikolayev ends]

I shall leave the interview at this stage and endeavor to express my own point of view. The Caucasus has been a sphere of Russian interests since time immemorial. Russia worked to gain influence in this region for centuries. To hand it all over to extremist, nationalist forces would mean destabilizing the geopolitical situation. Armenia recently delegated the protection of its border (with Turkey) to the Russian Federation, and a similar agreement with Georgia is being drawn up. We are at the negotiations stage with Azerbaijan. Together with the Foreign Ministry, our border guard troops actively participate in solving political problems. "How can there be an economic union with internal borders?" A. Nikolayev frankly said. "With the closure of external borders, internal borders are opening. It is fine to have the manat and other currencies and the free movement of goods, but there are common geopolitical interests...."

Yes, this geographical area cannot be a no-man's-land.

When this material was ready to go to press, we learned that, following negotiations with the head of Sochi's administration and representatives of the Customs Committee and the Security Ministry, Russian Border Guard Troops Commander A. Nikolayev reached an agreement on deploying a border guard detachment there, which will increase the border's protection. A checkpoint will be opened, which will serve railways, seaports, airports, and bus terminals.

Crime Situation in Armed Forces Said To Be Improving

PM2312135193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p2

[Interview with Deputy Chief Military Prosecutor A. Kuznetsov by Colonel Anatoliy Borovkov and Lieutenant Colonel of Justice Vladimir Kolomiets; date and place not given: "Criminals in the Army Are Being Eradicated. Albeit Slowly So Far"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What exactly is being done by the Directorate for the Prevention of Injuries and Deaths Among Military Servicemen and what results have these measures produced?

[Kuznetsov] Since 1991, this has been a priority area of work. In September this year, a scheduled conference on operations chaired by the chief military prosecutor discussed the results of work by military prosecutors to eliminate factors conducive to deaths or injuries in military units. The chief military prosecutor issued an order, and a representation was submitted to the Russian Federation Defense Ministry....

As you can see, we are not talking about just another trite measure, but about real practice with real people responsible for this very important sector. Now the consequences. Some positive results have already been achieved: The trend toward a drop in the number of offenses linked with deaths and injuries has become firmly established. Let us look at the statistics. In the first

half of 1993, the number of personnel lost as a result of crimes and incidents in all the Army troops and Navy forces under supervision by military prosecutors was 7.8 percent less than in the same period last year. The number of such cases dropped by 11.8 percent throughout the Russian Federation Armed Forces as a whole. The number of servicemen seriously injured was also down 9.4 percent and 18.8 percent respectively.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What is the situation with the notorious "bullying"?

[Kuznetsov] Here too there are specific results. The number of criminal manifestations is down 55.7 percent. The indicator for the Armed Forces as a whole is even more significant: 62.5 percent. But I must stress that these results, while encouraging, certainly must not lull us into a false sense of security. Because the reason for the tenacity of this type of crime is that it is highly latent, in other words concealed. As the study of criminal cases shows, in 60 percent of cases the guilty parties have committed "non-regulation actions" before. In this connection, we must say that some commanders and chiefs do not comply with the requirements of Articles 75 and 78 of the Provisional Military Service Regulations. We are talking about forming an atmosphere conducive to interethnic contact, rallying military collectives, showing sensitivity and attention to subordinates, and combining great demands with respect for the personal dignity of each individual serviceman.

Military prosecutors must also be reproached. Statistics show that Article 258 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which stipulates that anyone breaking military service regulations will be punished, "is not in force" in practice. It is extremely rare for criminal charges to be brought against the guilty parties in a duty detail. At best, representations are made. Our attitude to shortcomings of this nature is unequivocal: immediate removal.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The frankness with which you talk about the most painful factors and the strictness of your assessments suggest a real change in the policy of the Military Prosecutor's Office in favor of keeping the public as fully informed as possible. Is that so?

[Kuznetsov] I will go further and say that the conference on operations I mentioned earlier raised the fundamental question of making military prosecutors' work more public and continuing to collaborate with social organizations. That includes human rights organizations, such as the "Abandoned Parents" Movement. In my opinion, this point of view received support.

I think information on deaths and injuries among military servicemen must be declassified. It is also important to ensure that the mass media give a truthful picture of the work done by structures for the defense of legal rights in the Armed Forces to oversee the implementation of laws. [passage omitted]

Political Issues

Edict Envisions Government Reform, Streamlining

MK2812103093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Ivan Zasurskiy report under the "Changes" rubric: "Government Being Reformed Once More. Mr. Chernomyrdin Ready for Anything—And Even for Gaydar?"]

[Text] Under an edict issued by the Russian president last week, Viktor Chernomyrdin has been asked to submit, within two weeks, proposals on changes in the personal composition of the Russian Federation Government, "with a view to cut considerably its numerical strength; to present proposals on turning some Russian Federation State Committees into Russian Federation ministries; to cut the number of ministries, state committees, and other agencies of the Russian Federation primarily with an eye to eliminate those duplicating each other's functions and intended to control spheres unspecified in the Russian Federation Constitution as being the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation." According to the edict, government chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin is required, within one month's time, to cut at least by 20 percent the staff of the Council of Ministers and to determine the procedure for internal interaction in the government being reformed.

The reform of government will become recurrent, with a one-year interval. It is possible, however, that none of the organizational measures will be too serious in terms of possible consequences. In the given case I have in mind that some parliamentarians may lose their vice premier titles. As well as the premier's ability to organize work of the cabinet being reformed: Without a doubt, Viktor Chernomyrdin is better equipped for administrative organization than his predecessors although he, too, is facing the problem of future contents of Council of Ministers activities. There is a more interesting thing. First, what is Mr. Chernomyrdin to do with Gaydar, whom the president has left in the government. Second, the great resettlement in Moscow is bound to spawn scandals on the scale of the racket regarding the Soviet Army's buildings in Germany: Many government institutions are to move from their buildings all over Moscow to the White House. Therefore, we should expect in connection with the reforming and moving of the government not only that the cabinet will take three months to come to terms with its new composition, but also that there will be fights and new "setups" over Moscow's immovable property.

The annual cabinet reforms "with cuts" always to be meticulously covered in the press are an amusing contrast with hushed-up changes in the president's staff which, judging from the absence of information, continue to gain in strength and number.

Site for New FIS Training Base Detailed

MK2812102093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "Intelligence Put on a Dung Hill"]

[Text] The Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] will provide itself in the near future with a new supermodern training and technical base on Moscow territory. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET has come to learn that the capital's authorities have set aside a 5.7-hectare plot of land for the secret institution.

True, the city fathers have selected a rather specific place for the training of budding spies. The authorities seem to have been unable to find a better allotment inside the city, and accommodated secret service men in Chagino. This is right in the center of Lyublino, amid the aeration fields known for the fact that feces from all over town flow down there. Deciding on this, the Town Hall and Foreign Intelligence generals seem to have been guided by the fact that future Stirlitzes [a fictional Russian spy] should even while young get used to working in extreme conditions.

Over 500,000 Illegal Immigrants Reported

LD2812101493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1001 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Liliya Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Over 500,000 illegal immigrants are reported to be currently staying in Russia whose status has to be clarified. Over 150,000 persons without citizenship have been reported in the Moscow region with most of them staying in the country for five and more years. These statistics were provided to ITAR-TASS by the director for the external migration of the Russian Migration Service, Aleksandr Arkhipov. He said that the problem can be resolved only by putting into effect the president's decree of December 16, 1993 "on measures for the introduction of migration control".

For his part, head of the department for the organization of immigration control, Konstantin Petrunin, pointed out that the adoption of the decree would bring the country to the same level with the whole civilized world and create a legislative basis for the regulation of migration processes, and primarily, for the solution of the problem of uncontrolled migration to Western countries on the Russian territory.

However, the lack of funds and the shortage of personnel will not allow to create such a comprehensive system of migration control in the near future. Therefore, the Russian migration department believes its priority task is to establish migration control check points on the most widely used directions used by illegal migrants entering the country.

New 'Women's Forum' Holds Constituent Congress

LD2812071893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0704
GMT 28 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS - A new social and political union by the name of "Women's Forum - New Policy" has been formed in Russia with the aim to help overcome discrimination against women and to work out proposals to frame state policy. Representatives of 14 women's organizations from 6 regions of the country assembled at the constitutive congress in Moscow.

The congress elected a coordination council which will be temporarily headed by chairperson of the "Political Equality" party board Yelena Lukashenko. In an interview with ITAR-TASS she said that the forum will take very active part in the forthcoming elections to local power bodies and later in the presidential elections.

The principle of parity partnership will form the basis of the union. Among others collective members of the forum are the Unity Party of Women (St. Petersburg), "Women of Siberia" party (Tomsk) and a host of other women's parties and movements.

The new movement has set its priority directions as fight against open and hidden discrimination in the society against women, search of a strategy of women's politics, to assist advancement of women at all levels of state administration, participation in law framing and the creation of social programmes and projects.

Polls on Events, People of 1993 Reported

LD2712124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1143
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—The "Results" TV programme by the St. Petersburg-based independent television company and the "Sunday Roundup" programme by the Ostankino TV and radio company described in their last broadcasts this year (they air weekly roundups) the ordeal of Rostov schoolchildren kidnapped by bandits and later released in the city of Mineralnyye Vody.

Summing up the events of the outgoing year, the "Results" programme cited data of a public poll conducted by the "Public Opinion" independent fund across Russia. The fund asked its respondents what development can be called "the event of the year" according to its importance.

The overwhelming majority—80 per cent of the polled—could not name such an event. Those who regarded the approval of the new Russian Constitution as the main positive result of the outgoing year, made up eight per cent.

Four per cent of respondents regard the success of Zhirinovskiy's party at the general elections the most deplorable event of this year.

"On the other hand, the absolute majority of the polled—51 per cent—called the October 3-4 events in Moscow the worst event of the year," the programme's anchorman Yevgeniy Kiselev said.

He added that respondents "could have different views while assessing the above events". Asked whether their living standards improved or dropped this year, 39 per cent replied that they ran into difficulties in the outgoing year, 30 per cent did not know what to say and 31 per cent were optimists: they said that they enjoyed more better things in their life.

"Results" quoted data of another poll held by the "Public Opinion" fund: who can be called "Man of the Year" with the sign "plus" or "minus".

The overwhelming majority of respondents—72 per cent—either could not name a man whose activities were beneficial for Russia or said that there was no such man at all. Opinions of the rest differed: two leaders emerged—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—five per cent and Boris Yeltsin—11 per cent.

Defining "Man of the Year" whose activities were most harmful to Russia, 13 per cent named Zhirinovskiy and 15 per cent—Yeltsin. "indeed, Boris Yeltsin was main character of 1993," anchorman Kiselev said.

"Yeltsin was in the vortex of 1993 events. Therefore, some identified him with positive achievements, others held him responsible for negative events," Kiselev added.

According to anchorman of the "Sunday Roundup" programme Sergey Alekseyev, the heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States who gathered in Ashgabat last week, "were not in a joking mood", since "too serious problems brought them to a regular summit".

"They have succeeded in uniting on an economic basis for the first time, creating a union which will enable them to carry out civilised integration," a "Sunday Roundup" correspondent said in a report from the Turkmen capital.

"But the main result of the summit meeting is the victory of the common sense policy and peace-making efforts. The visit to Ashgabat by Russian President Boris Yeltsin evidently promoted the success of the meeting to a great extent.

"The Russian-Turkmen agreements signed during the summit, one of which deals with dual citizenship, will possibly help change the nature of bilateral relations for other Commonwealth member states." The Ashgabat meeting ended with an optimistic forecast for the future of the Commonwealth, the programme stressed.

"There is a wide-spread opinion that the year of 1993 has drawn the line under the history of communism in Russia," said Igor Klyamkin, doctor of philosophy, in "Results". "But the end of communism should inevitably mean the end of anticommunism".

In a telegram sent to the "Sunday Roundup" programme in connection with the results of the general elections in Russia, prominent American Sovietologist George Kennan said that Moscow should not be again regarded as a potential military threat.

Americans should keep in mind, he continued, that three generations of Russians lived under the communist regime for 70 years. They are now at a loss: their country was a powerful military state which crushed Nazism. They deserve a feeling of pride.

Everything has collapsed now, and they turned to be unready for democracy, Kennan continued. In conclusion, he expressed opinion that Russia would reach stability. He also expressed confidence that there is no dictatorship of a Stalin type in Russia.

Economic Issues

Gaydar Supports Economic Reform After Election

BR2712134493 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Dec 93 p13

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given: "Gaydar Presses Ahead: 'The Reform Remains Untouched'"]

[Text] Moscow—Notwithstanding the harsh verdict of the ballot box, in the Moscow government's Old Square offices an air of victory reigns. At 1900, busy ministers enter and leave the office of Gaydar, the father of the radical reform which has pushed a part of the Russian population into ultranationalist leader Zhirinovskiy's arms. But now that Yeltsin has reconfirmed his support, declaring publicly that Gaydar is remaining in the government, he has refound his accustomed sense of security and serenity. Seated behind his dark wood desk he announces that, whatever the outcome of the vote, the Moscow government is continuing on its path: "The reform is going ahead, without delay and without turning aside."

[Cucurnia] Minister, the December elections have revealed substantial popular impatience with your government's policy. Usually, in such cases, ministers resign or, at any rate, propose significant changes in their political line. Why have you chosen the opposite path?

[Gaydar] These were the first free multiparty elections in Russia. There are more democratic deputies in the new parliament than in the past. Hence, our position is stronger. In addition, the newly-approved Constitution transforms Russia into a presidential republic. The president is head of the executive and forms the government

in whose name he was elected by the people. I would have resigned only if there had been a substantial change in government policy.

[Cucurnia] On the day after the elections, however, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin stated that it was necessary to discontinue the "shock therapy," and Yeltsin added that there was a need for a policy which was better adapted to the problems of the less wealthy classes.

[Gaydar] In the first place, there has never been a "shock therapy" in Russia. There have been radical measures, but it is ridiculous to speak of shock. Secondly, the most drastic reforms, for example, price liberalization, are necessary once only, and there is no need to repeat them. Where social protection is concerned, we are right now considering changing the system of granting pensions and family allowances to make these more effective and to direct them at those who need them most. There will also be a restructuring of the government. And if we achieve further successes in controlling inflation, creating the bases for balancing the budget between March and April, our possibilities of maneuver will be greater. But there will be no immediate slackening of monetary policy. This is not the problem, but rather the continuous need to descend to compromises.

[Cucurnia] In other words, during the coming three or four months, nothing will change.

[Gaydar] Ours is a strategic choice. And the line is clear: A different financial and monetary policy would have pretty unpleasant consequences for our economy. Which does not mean that we are satisfied with everything. Creating a market, in particular in food, is taking too long. It has taken too long to eliminate the inheritance of state regulation. The antimonopoly policy is inadequate. No incentives have been given to encourage the growth of small- and medium-sized enterprises. Subsidies to nonproductive enterprises and credits have been curtailed too slowly, reducing the resources available for social purposes.

[Cucurnia] Many people, however, have had the impression that, after the vote, with the appearance in Russian politics of a ultranationalist leader like Zhirinovskiy, future developments in the situation have become particularly unpredictable, and the lack of elasticity could prove fairly dangerous.

[Gaydar] No more than it was in September, before the dissolution of parliament. Certainly the arrival of nationalistic forces is dangerous and disagreeable, but it does not have direct effects on the levers of power. Those at the top have not changed.

[Cucurnia] Without a coherent legislative activity, however, it will not be easy to push ahead these projects. How are you thinking of organizing work in parliament?

[Gaydar] The problems will be pretty serious. Parliament will be a divided body, with a radical fraction consisting of the Communists and other parties close to

them, and a strong ultranationalist group. It will be an easy game for these two entities to block the adoption of bills which are useful for the country. For the government, it is a complication which cannot be underestimated. In any event, we too have a strong parliamentary group and the president has considerable powers. In the Federation Council, the Upper Chamber, the nationalists are almost absent, making it possible to block the most extremist and dangerous attempts. Moreover, despite the differences, we can form coalitions with Yavlinskiy's party on a large number of questions, with Shakhray's, and, maybe, with the women.

[Cucurnia] Parliament will remain in effect for scarcely two years. Are you not afraid that it will use this period as a prolonged electoral campaign, in advance of the next elections?

[Gaydar] Our fate and the result of the next elections will depend on what we will be able to do during the next two years. I am profoundly convinced that any hesitation and vacillation in the economic area carries with it very serious dangers. In September, when inflation reached a critical level, we had to impose a firm monetary grip. Such a tough policy just before elections always produces social conflicts and political instability. But we had no choice, in particular because in 1993 we had been forced to make so many compromises, and because inflation had grown excessive. We had to cut state subsidies on bread, industrial credits, imports, and so forth, that is, we had to implement the most unpopular measures. Today, inflation is down to 15 percent per month and there are the first signs of stabilization. In this area, after paying such a high political price, either we look to reduce inflation as far as possible, so as to make room for investment, savings, and production, and to reach the 1995 elections with economic recovery under way, or we let ourselves be overtaken by panic, change course, and rush headlong into galloping inflation, and then find ourselves again in a situation of having to take tough measures and renounce the market. More than anything else, I am afraid of arriving at the next elections in this type of economic situation.

[Cucurnia] Do you believe that you can do this without unemployment, company closures, and social conflict?

[Gaydar] Unfortunately not. Unemployment already exists. And it is substantial, if we include hidden, unofficial unemployment in the form of shorter working hours, forced holidays etc. This will be a serious problem during the structural reform period. One should not forget, however, the existence of strong domestic shock absorbers: In Russia the relationship between the employers and workers is not based exclusively on economic factors, as in your country, but it has paternalistic, almost family-like, nuances. Before dismissing workers, managers try everything.

[Cucurnia] You are telling us, therefore, that Russia is moving toward the toughest and most difficult phase of the reform, whilst those in power have to reckon with a

"hostile" parliament given legitimacy by the recent popular elections, a president elected in 1991 when the USSR still existed, and an Army which does not conceal a certain weakness for Zhirinovskiy's theses. Are there really reasons for optimism?

[Gaydar] The Constitution exists. The president, all in all, received a vote of confidence in 1993, and his powers are extensive. Certainly, I agree, the situation is serious. But when has it ever been simple?

Gaydar Upbeat on Economic Prospects

LD2712221893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2147
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 28 ITAR-TASS—"I think we are moving towards a stable and governable society," Russia's First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar said in a television programme "A moment of truth" late on Monday [27 December].

Gaydar said he was confident that the Russian economy is "a mighty system, which is now getting out of paradoxical situation with great efforts. In this paradoxical situation it had its back turned to the people and was working either for defence or to meet some wholly unnecessary demands", he said.

Gaydar believes that a proper impulse has already been imparted. "In 1994, our country can be made inflation-free by simply stopping the price growth", Gaydar said. Economic growth can begin in 1995, and by the end of the century "we can undoubtedly become one of the most dynamic and developing countries of the world," Gaydar stressed.

"At the beginning of the next century it will be possible to make a serious step towards prosperity. All this is not only possible for Russia but is absolutely plausible, unless we do one thing - and believe liars".

Gaydar rejects the very idea that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, whose showing in the recent parliamentary elections was quite impressive, can become Russia's president. This is "an apocalyptic thought," he said. This would be the most serious threat to the world civilization in its entire history", he said.

"I have not given up my belief in society's common sense despite the outcome of the December 12 elections. I think that these elections and their results were to a great degree a result of the irresponsible attitude to power", Gaydar said.

The parliamentary elections provided an excellent opportunity for showing those at power "what we think about it". Gaydar added that "the in-built innermost historical and psychological stabilizers will work in our Russian society" during the presidential elections.

Gaydar said he was one of those few who said and believed that "our economy can become a market economy, and open economy without a deficit. That it

can be changed and that reforms in Russia are not a utopia. It is a reality today. We did it, although many people said it was impossible. Impossible in principle. I am not a dreamer. I am confident that what I say is quite realistic. My confidence is based on knowledge and an understanding of what the Russian economy is like and what problems are confronting it. I know and understand what and how other countries did in situations which were not quite dissimilar. I am absolutely confident that Russia can solve these problems - not in its dreams but in real life. It will solve them indeed if it does not go wide of the mark", Gaydar said.

Retention of Cabinet's 'Economic Bloc' Urged

PM2712170393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Presidential Council member Otto Latsis: "The Economic Bloc in the Government Must Be Retained If We Want a Continuation of Reforms"]

[Text] Recently there have been numerous forecasts in the press, idle talk, and conjectures about possible changes in the government's composition. One point is beyond doubt: If we want a continuation of reforms, the Cabinet's economic bloc—Gaydar, Fedorov, and Chubays—must be retained. This is why I perceive no likelihood of any radical transformation of the government. At least by the president, especially since he has spoken out on this issue quite definitely.

But I also know that proposals along these lines (and very persistent proposals at that) have been made by some members of the Presidential Council and by structures close to it—various working groups. Their motivation runs as follows: "We have suffered an electoral defeat and blame must be apportioned."

I am against this approach. And primarily as regards identifying the reasons why "Russia's Choice" was defeated. Everywhere in the world a defeat in parliamentary elections is accepted as such only if the number of votes gained is substantially smaller than in the previous elections. In our case there is simply nothing to compare against, and the party itself has only existed for three months. There was quite a puzzling change in the results of sociological polls, which everyone accepted as guidelines. It cannot be ruled out that the initially high rating of "Russia's Choice," which gave rise to optimistic expectations, was the result of society's mental state immediately following the crushing of the 3-4 October mutiny. There ensued quite a sharp change in ratings: "Russia's Choice" was initially given just over 30 percent, with 2-3 percent for Zhirinovskiy and less than 5 percent for Zyuganov. The last three weeks saw a sharp rise in the rating of Zhirinovskiy (in particular) and Zyuganov and a noticeable drop in the rating of "Russia's Choice." Therefore, this was not a defeat but an "incorrect expectation."

If this were to be perceived as a failure, then it is a failure for the entire democratic wing, for all four democratic

parties which are the successors of Democratic Russia. Even though all four of them (with the addition of Travkin who is also associated with this wing in Russians' minds) gained no fewer votes than in the April referendum.

Of course, the surprisingly large number of votes cast for Zhirinovskiy is alarming. There is no doubt about failures in the actual policy of reforms and in socioeconomic policy. People are understandably tired: Two years without any decisive results is a long time. There should have been faster movement in the reforms themselves—price liberalization, privatization. On the other hand, much more attention should have been given to social protection.

Nonetheless, it would be inexpedient to change the main figures now: Newcomers will need time to bring themselves up to date and catch up with the pace. The members of this troika—Gaydar, Fedorov, and Chubays—have sound experience, they have "fitted in" with Chernomyrdin's team, and, it seems to me, they are working productively under his control. Especially in the last two months, without parliament. A great volume of useful work was done when the government produced drafts and the president promulgated edicts. Including those on social protection of the population, more accurately identifying the target of their effect—large families, northerners, miners.

I would also take into account the possible adverse switch of public opinion. The world is alarmed by Zhirinovskiy's high percentage of the vote. This is why it is important to affirm that this will not disrupt the stability of Russian policy. Yes, this is a very alarming signal, but any catastrophic changes could occur only if Zhirinovskiy's influence were to expand by the time the next elections are held in two years' time. But there will be no changes in policy, especially thanks to the adoption of the constitution and the consolidation of the president's positions.

The whole world perceives Gaydar, Fedorov, and Chubays as symbols—if they remain, this would mean that the policy of reforms would be continued. But there can be no doubts about the West's reaction if these figures were to be swept aside and the new appointees were to be people still untested in practice and unknown to the world, especially if this were to happen against the background of any strengthening of Zhirinovskiy's and Zyuganov's positions. There will be growing pressure in the United States by those who believe that Clinton is giving too much support to Russia. There will, no doubt, be growing pressure by East Europe and the Baltic countries on NATO to make the latter abandon the principle that not a single one of these countries would be admitted to NATO ahead of Russia. There will, no doubt, be growing pressure from Japan.

To put it briefly, our positions will sharply deteriorate both in the economic and in the military-political sphere. With all the obvious consequences for domestic policy.

Thus, it seems to me that the most correct step would be to do everything possible, despite parliament's awkward composition, to ensure that Chernomyrdin works over the next two years with the present economic wing of the government.

There could and should be changes in the government. Its structure is flawed, it is simply too big. I am not at all sure that we need to have a Committee for Industrial Policy or a Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Since state regulation now should be underpinned by structural policy, promotion of structural transformation, and the easing of their social consequences, it would make sense to amalgamate the aforementioned departments with the Ministry of the Economy and concentrate structural work there. It is time to finally complete the transformation of the state planning and ministerial structure into a structure of state administration in market conditions, it is time to finally abandon the planning-distribution system. We are, after all, only halfway there and a return to the old ways is still possible. The nuclei of former ministries are still to be found in the Committee for Industrial Policy and its departments. Admittedly without any functions, but the cadre basis and links have been retained and—should it become desirable—the old system could be redeployed. And even the Ministry of the Economy is still half-rooted in the State Planning Committee, and it is also strongly geared toward distributive actions rather than toward structural policy.

To sum up, it could be said that there is need for change in the government's structure and personnel composition, but the main team which determines the direction of reforms and strategy must be retained.

Central Bank Statement on Hard Currency Circulation

LD2712191993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia (CBR) today published a statement defining the procedure for the circulation of hard currency cash on the territory of the Russian Federation starting from January 1 1994.

According to the press release, the ban on enterprises' putting their hard currency earnings on currency accounts does not apply to businesses selling goods under customs control or on customs territories of the Russian Federation such as international airports, sea ports and other places determined by the Russian Customs Office. Such duty-free shops levy neither customs duties, nor taxes.

Until further instructed by the CBR, duty-free shops will sell goods for both cash and non-cash hard currency provided they have CBR's licence and permission by the main territorial department.

Such shops deposit the whole of their hard currency earnings of the previous working day with the authorized bank on the next banking day.

CBR also said authorized banks could deposit the following hard currency means on current accounts of legal entities, both residents and non-residents:

- Unused amounts of foreign currency cash that the enterprise received earlier from the authorized bank to pay travel allowances to its employees going abroad as well as other expenses sanctioned by CBR;
- Customs duties imposed on individuals in accordance with the customs legislation of the Russian Federation;
- Taxes individuals pay for their hard currency incomes in accordance with the taxation legislation of the Russian Federation;
- Fines imposed by duly empowered officials of the law-enforcement, taxation and customs bodies in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation on both residents and non-residents for violations of law they commit;
- Consular duties imposed on individuals staying in the CIS, foreign diplomatic and consular missions and missions of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;
- Earnings from selling shipping documents to individuals residing in Russia by foreign transportation enterprises on the mutual basis in accordance with international treaties Russia is a party to;
- Amounts imported to the Russian Federation in strict accordance with all customs regulations being authorized by an enterprise, organization or agency which is non-resident;
- Other amounts in cases which require special permission by CBR.

Davydov Forecasts Value of Exports in 1994

LD2812085793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov told a news conference that the volume of Russia's exports next year will be approximately \$42 billion. In saying this, he noted that 5-7 percent of the revenue from export operations is being looted today; this applies primarily, Davydov said, in the deliveries of oil and oil products.

Regional Affairs**'Stunned' Reaction to Dissolution of Petersburg Council***MK2312143093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2*

[Report by Aleksandr Pozdnyakov in the "Deputies" column: "The Buttress of Soviet Power Has Fallen. The Russian Federation President Has Terminated the Powers of the St. Petersburg City Council"]

[Text] A regular sitting of the 20th session of the St. Petersburg City Council has proved to be the last in the city's Soviet-power history. It ended after Deputy City Council Chairman Boris Moiseyev read out an edict by the Russian president, "On the Reform of Local Self-Government Bodies in St. Petersburg," signed on 21 December, whereby the City Council's powers are terminated and pending elections to the City Assembly (which are due to take place in March 1994), will be exercised by the mayor's office.

Stunned, the deputies thought for a while that this edict, which had found its way to the Council through unofficial channels, was a hoax. After the city council chairman got in touch with the presidential apparatus, however, it appeared that there were no more hopes left. Then the people's deputies began to work out tactics for the near future. Mr. Belyakov proposed to ask the legal department whether instead of turning to the Russian judicial bodies, they should appeal to "international bodies" and the international authority of the "most democratic council." Deputy Trubin proposed to look for "other ways." "Why are we just sitting in the hall? We could just as well turn to the citizens."

Finally they resolved to file a suit with the Supreme Court because by dissolving the council, the president has violated the citizens' rights. True, a group of intransigents is determined to sit in the hall for at least the following night so as to prevent the sealing of the deputies' offices together with the documents there. Nikolay Zhuravskiy, head of the council's housing policy commission, told his colleagues: "We have kilograms of papers there and each of these documents is compromising material on officials who have misappropriated apartments."

Signs are that the new body of representative power—the City Assembly—will not be collecting compromising material against the mayor's office so zealously. Under the regulations on the power bodies in St. Petersburg during the transition period, also signed by the president, the City Assembly will have 50 deputies working on a full-time basis. Reportedly, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has had to work hard to create comfortable conditions for himself and his officers: The president has rejected the draft prepared in the Smolnyy [city hall] several times.

Yeltsin Appoints Envoys to Khabarovsk, Kurgan Regions*LD2712195193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1946 GMT 27 Dec 93*

[Text] Moscow December 27 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed decrees appointing Kondrat Mikhaylovich Yevtushenko his personal envoy to the Khabarovsk territory and Nikolay Vasilyevich Davylov his envoy to the Kurgan region, the presidential press service told ITAR-TASS.

Former Minister Fedorov Elected President of Chuvashia*LD2712051193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0454 GMT 27 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary, 27 Dec—Former Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov has been elected president of Chuvashia. He won a convincing victory at the second round of voting held yesterday, gaining 28 percent of votes according to preliminary information, as against the minimum admissible 25 percent. The other candidate, Lev Kurakov, rector of Chuvash University received 20 percent of the votes. Almost 53 percent of the electorate took part in the second round of voting. Nikolay Fedorov led in the first round as well, when seven candidates were competing in a fierce battle for the top post.

Provisions of New Bashkortostan Constitution Outlined*PM2712095593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "New Bashkortostan Constitution"]

[Text] The new Bashkortostan Republic Constitution has been adopted by a Supreme Soviet session which closed here yesterday. Of the 227 deputies present, 206 voted for the Constitution.

The Constitution states that the Republic of Bashkortostan has supreme authority over all its territory and autonomously determines and implements its domestic and foreign policy. Its laws take precedence throughout its territory, and relations with Russia—of which the Republic of Bashkortostan is a member on a voluntary basis of equal rights—are determined by a treaty on the foundations of interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bashkortostan, and by other bilateral treaties and agreements.

The land, its contents, natural wealth, and other natural resources on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan are the property of its multinational people. Its territory and status cannot be changed without their

consent. The protection of the Republic of Bashkortostan's state sovereignty and territorial integrity are most important state functions and are the business of the entire people. A Republic of Bashkortostan citizen has Russian Federation citizenship, and can also be a citizen of another state in accordance with Republic of Bashkortostan law or an international treaty signed by the Republic of Bashkortostan. The Republic of Bashkortostan is henceforth an autonomous participant in international and foreign economic relations.

New President Takes Oath

MK2812120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Provincial Chronicle" rubric]

[Text] Ufa—Murtaza Rakhimov, Bashkortostan's first president, has taken the oath of a new constitution of the republic here. The day of adoption of the constitution—24 December—has been declared an official holiday.

A parliament session transformed Bashkortostan's Council of Ministers into a Cabinet of Ministers. The first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet will temporarily perform the functions of head of parliament. The hearing of draft laws on the creation of a new legislature—a State Assembly—has been postponed till early 1994.

Bashkortostan's Supreme Soviet has once again passed to the Russian Federation president and prime minister a demand to stop the economic blockade of Abkhazia immediately. The cable addressed to Boris Yeltsin contains a call to do the utmost for a successful completion of the Georgian-Abkhaz talks.

According to a law passed by the republic's Supreme Soviet, a deliberate insult to the president's honor and dignity is punishable by up to six months imprisonment or a fine equal to between five and 50 monthly minimum wages. Insulting a CIS president entails imprisonment of up to two years, etc.

Conflict With Russian Constitution Seen

MK2812125093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Bashkortostan" rubric: "Republic Adopts a New Constitution That Is at Odds With the New Russian One"]

[Text] According to the republic's new fundamental law, Bashkortostan will voluntarily turn over to Moscow a part of its powers under the treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between Bashkortostan and the Russian Federation that has yet to be concluded. The document gives Bashkortostan the right to engage in foreign economic and foreign policy affairs on its own, except for those it will voluntarily turn over to Russia. Moreover, the new constitution of the Republic of Bashkortostan gives the republic the right independently to

enter interstate associations. The new constitution also includes an article proclaiming Bashkortostan a territory free of weapons of mass destruction. The fundamental law retains the provision that "the land, subsoil, and natural resources are the property of its multi-ethnic people," and all matters concerning the disposal of property are to be regulated by the republic's legislation.

Russian Federation legislation, under the Bashkortostan constitution, will be in force on the republic's territory only within the scope of powers turned over to Russia voluntarily. Although the Russian Federation president personally deleted the provision on republics' citizenship in the Russian constitution, this term was retained in the Bashkortostan fundamental law, along with the independence of the republic's judicial system and prosecutor's office.

Specialists think that the Bashkortostan constitution adopted on 24 December is based on provisions of the Federation Treaty, but it is at the same time at odds with the new Russian fundamental law, which was not adopted by a majority of Bashkortostan's population.

On 25 December, a parliament session ended in the inauguration of Murtaza Rakhimov, first president of Bashkortostan. The ceremony was attended by leaders of Tatarstan, Ingushetia, Udmurtia, and also by Eduard Rossel, former Sverdlovsk Oblast governor, and his successor, Aleksandr Trushnikov. During a banquet the guests, most of whom were elected to the Federation Council, must have been discussing joint tactics in relations with Moscow in the new year.

Khakassia Supreme Soviet Extends Powers

PM2712100193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Powers Extended"]

[Text] The Republic of Khakassia Supreme Soviet, at a session which ended today, adopted a decree on its own reform, which will extend its powers for the period required to elaborate and adopt a constitution and to hold early elections. It is planned to submit the republic's draft fundamental law for nationwide discussion no later than June 1994, and the Supreme Soviet will start examining it in September. During this period powers will be redistributed between the soviet and its Presidium, which will thus gain a larger sphere of activity. In this connection the composition of the Presidium will be expanded by more than one-half. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet is empowered to issue directives that are binding on all organs and organizations, their officials, and citizens.

Chechnya's Clans To Hold Congress

MK2412122093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report in the "Chechnya" column: "The Teyps Congress Intends To Organize

Parliamentary Elections. Part of the Army Supports the Chechen Clan Opposition"]

[Text] Representatives of 128 clans [teyps] and families in Chechnya as well as of Chechen diasporas in the neighboring and distant foreign countries have announced their intention to take part in the work of the congress of clans scheduled in Grozny for 25 and 26 December.

The republic's leadership is categorically opposed to the congress while Chechnya's General Prosecutor Alza Sheripova has called for criminal proceedings to be instituted against its organizers. Ruslan Kutayev, chairman of the Clans and Ethnic Groups Council, described representatives of the republic's leadership who show such disrespect for traditional social institutions as "political corpses" because, he stressed in an interview with INTERFAX, "Even in the years of Soviet power all problems in the republic were dealt with by the teyps, in accordance with historical realities." Furthermore, in Mr. Kutayev's opinion, it is of major importance that the republic's mufti, Madin Garakayev, who is also head of the largest clan, the Benoy, is taking part in preparing the congress. "Historically," he believes, "the outcome of all political actions in Chechnya has been determined by whose side this teyp was on."

The congress deputies, convinced that following Dzhokhar Dudayev's edict suspending parliament the republic has actually been living in the conditions of an authoritarian regime, intend to call parliamentary elections on 8 April and create a central election commission. Furthermore, there are plans to discuss the socio-political situation in the republic, to map out ways to get out of the political and economic crisis and adopt a corresponding resolution.

By yesterday 922 delegates were registered, according to Clans Council member Mansur Tagirov. Contrary to the opinion of the former head of the Chechen Internal Affairs Ministry, who said that there are no armed formations in the republic supporting any particular side, the command of five armed formations, including the official power structures—the special purpose regiment under the president, the tank regiment based in Shalinsk Rayon, the unit of the republic's special purpose forces, the separate Abkhaz battalion formed with volunteers who have fought in Abkhazia, and the formation of the Confederation of Mountain Peoples—supported the idea of the clans congress and guaranteed the security of the delegates and the maintenance of public order in Grozny during the congress.

Apart from ensuring order, the command of these formations has made a decision to take part in the Chechen clans congress, for which purpose three people will be delegated from each armed formation.

Khasbulatov Reinstated as Chechen Citizen

LD2312211393 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1637 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Vadim Polyakov]

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Former spokesman of the Russian Parliament, ethnic Chechen Ruslan Khasbulatov has been reinstated in Chechen citizenship by decree of Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic.

According to the *CHECHEN PRESS* news agency, the president of this North Caucasian republic responded to numerous petitions from citizens asking for Khasbulatov's reinstatement.

After Russian President Boris Yeltsin suppressed an armed rebellion, led by his arch-enemy Khasbulatov in early October in Moscow in the wake of the dissolution of the parliament of the Russian Federation, and sent Khasbulatov to prison, local sources said there was a popular feeling for Khasbulatov in his home republic, which earlier stripped him of its citizenship and proclaimed itself fully independent from Russia.

The Chechen Republic, the only region within the Russian Federation that formally refused to take part in the December 12 parliamentary elections and the referendum on the new Russian Constitution, is said to be proud of producing a leader of Khasbulatov's magnitude.

In a recent move, the Chechen government of popular trust appealed to President Yeltsin to resume negotiations with its leaders before catastrophic developments set in.

Yakutia Leader Discusses Unity of Federation

LD2712163593 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1439 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] "We will stay in the Russian Federation and are unselfishly interested in having this unity maintained and consolidated," President of Yakutia (or Republic of Sakha incorporated in Russia) Mikhail Nikolayev told journalists on the second anniversary of his presidency.

Speaking of possible contradictions between the Russian Constitution adopted by the December 12 referendum and the Sakha Constitution adopted a year ago, Nikolayev said: "We cannot ignore the Fundamental Law of Russia in the form in which it was adopted. It does not infringe on the republic's economic or political rights. In Russia one cannot use the same yardstick with different areas, especially with national states, because the Republic of Sakha's concerns are not those of the Samara Region or Krasnodar Territory."

In his words, "some lose their sleep over the economic autonomy of our republic. They think that we pick diamonds, gold and other valuable materials without any effort. What they do not know is that for two years our

republic has not taken a kopeck from the Russian budget but has been faithfully paying its contribution to the Russian treasury. Some seem to dream of republics giving whatever they have to the center and begging all powerful bureaucrats for crumbs. We know about the dictate of the center from our own experience and this is why we say that there will be, should be no return to the past."

President Nikolayev believes that "on the one hand, there is no social basis in our state for resurrection or functioning of fascism. On the other hand, the popular vote made this a real possibility. At this difficult and important stage the ethnic issues should by no means be blown up out of proportion. Rather, everything must be done to consolidate the unity of the Russian Federation, preserve whatever facilitates constructive work and consolidation of the multi-national people of Russia."

Tatarstan's Economic Program Yields Good Results

*LD2812073293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0727
GMT 28 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan December 28 TASS - Since the beginning of 1993, the minimum subsistence level in Tatarstan has grown from 3,400 roubles to 21,700 roubles, or by 6.4

times, respectively. But according to statistics surveys, the average income per capita in January was 7,500 roubles, whereas currently, it amounts to 57,160 roubles. This shows that despite growing prices the living standards of the population are not declining.

This has been achieved due to the implementation of a program of social welfare adopted by the parliament in 1993. Under the program, the government is subsidizing agricultural producers, simultaneously preventing price increases for basic foodstuffs such as bread, meat and milk, which account for the bulk of the subsistence level.

Calculating the minimum subsistence level without subsidies, it would have amounted now to 50,000 roubles rather than 21,700, with every third citizen of the republic living below the poverty line.

The policy of softly switching over to the market economy, pursued by Tatarstan's government, and providing social guarantees to the people, especially to low-income groups, has brought tangible results. Tatarstan is one of the cheapest regions in Russia in terms of food prices, ranking second only to the Ulyanovsk region. Tatarstan has taken second place after the city of Ulyanovsk in the cost of the food basket compared with the average income per capita, leaving the city of Ufa behind.

International Affairs**Minister Comments on Russian Elections, Minorities**

WS2412155093 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Report by correspondent Yuryy Horbon on news conference by Oleksandr Yemets, minister of matters of nationality and migration, in Kiev on 23 December; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Today, Minister Oleksandr Yemets returned from Moscow, where he participated in the work of the Ukrainian-Russian standing conference. This conference involved meetings of the political leadership of both states. The topic discussed was, understandably, the results of the Russian elections. According to Oleksandr Yemets, even before 12 December, political circles of the neighbor state, which we used to call democratic, did not disguise their imperial views and did not imagine Ukraine to be outside the Russian sphere of influence. The results of the elections and, in particular, the success of Zhirinovskiy's party, will make Russian policy toward Ukraine still more rigid.

[Yemets] "I do not want to force fear upon you. I think that Zhirinovskiy, notwithstanding the current distribution of political forces and his electoral success, is unlikely to win in future presidential elections. However, the issue is not Zhirinovskiy, but the ideas and slogans supported by the majority of Russian society. The most dangerous thing is the degeneration of social consciousness, in which the most complex social questions are approached with overly simplistic answers."

With regard to his ministry's work, Oleksander Yemets stated:

[Yemets] "Notwithstanding financial problems, there are programs that we are implementing and will be implementing under any circumstances. In the first place, this applies to the resettlement of deported people. With regard to the attention of the Ukrainian state to other nationalities on its territory, the number of schools with national languages of instruction speaks for itself. Thus, there are 113 Romanian, 59 Hungarian, several Polish and Jewish, and one Crimean-Tatar school on the territory of Ukraine."

Commenting on the participation of national minorities in the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Ukraine, Aleksander Yemets stated:

[Yemets] "The current law allows cultural associations of national minorities to participate in elections. However, I think that cultural activity of national minorities should not be attached to politics, for, as experience shows, this brings difficulties to international relations, too."

Group Criticizes Government's Stance on CIS

LD2712180393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 27 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] The Congress of National Democratic Forces of Ukraine (CNDF) issued a statement Monday [27 December] criticizing the position adopted by the Ukrainian team at the CIS Ashgabat summit. President Kravchuk is said to ignore the view taken by the national democratic parties and made known to him at a meeting with their leaders on December 21 that the CIS should be dismantled.

The statement says that the CIS, a post imperial institution, has consolidated while the establishment of the position of the Commonwealth chairman makes the CIS "a transnational organization."

The Congress was especially alarmed by the remarks made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who referred to the election of Boris Yeltsin as CIS chairman as a great achievement.

The CNDF fears that "Russian diplomacy will try to open CIS missions in the UN and CSCE whose activities will be designed to supersede the foreign offices of independent states in international organizations and to turn these states into provinces."

The CNDF accused the West of pro-Russian feelings. "Politicians are no longer making a secret of the fact that the U.S.A. and Russia have divided spheres of influence between them," the document says.

The Congress called for Ukraine quitting the CIS while developing bilateral relations.

Influential experts close to the president's administration believe that until a new parliament is elected he would be wise to ignore criticism and appeals by nationalist organizations, as well as the attempts by the doomed republic's parliament to impose on the head of state groundless political decisions.

INTERFAX Note: Observers believe that one such decision is a resolution, urging the president to nominate in parliament a candidate for the Prime Minister's Office. "That's the Supreme Soviet's prerogative, and I see no problem here. However, I have the right to react to that appropriately," Kravchuk remarked, commenting on the resolution in an interview with journalists upon his arrival from Ashgabat. He reiterated the proposal to hold a referendum, where "it would be reasonable to vote on the structure and nature of governing bodies. We must seek the nation's advice at all costs," he declared.

Columnist Views Russian, U.S. Moves on Nuclear Arms

AU2712161993 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 21 (42), 16-31 Dec 93 p 8

[Article by military columnist Colonel Mykola Bilovil: "Let Us Call a Spade a Spade. Russia Has Reserved the Right To Launch a Nuclear Attack Against Ukraine"]

[Text] Shortly after the adoption of Ukraine's military doctrine, the Moscow press published an account of "The Main Principles of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation." The first thing that strikes one after comparing the two documents is that the Russian doctrine differs from ours in that it is too verbose and ambiguous, and its formulations are vague. What is particularly important is that it states positions that would have made our deputies, had they seen them before, think twice before adopting our doctrine.

Anxiety arises, first and foremost, as one reads theses on nuclear weapons, on the use of the army to resolve internal problems, on the presence of Russian troops outside Russia, and on their numerical strength, which is not even specified in concrete figures.

I personally feel very concerned about Russia's policy with regard to the use of its nuclear weapons. This policy is interpreted in the doctrine in the following way: The Russian Federation will not use its nuclear weapons against those states that are signatories to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, that is to say, those states that do not have such weapons, with the exception of cases when

a) such a state, which has a treaty with another state in possession of such weapons, attacks the Russian Federation, its territory, armed forces, other troops, or allies

b) actions are jointly carried out by such a state with another state that possesses nuclear weapons, in carrying out or providing support for an invasion of or armed attack against the Russian Federation, its territory, armed forces, other troops, or allies.

Such intricate wording!

I ask our esteemed readers, our president, Ukraine's minister of defense, and our generals and unit commanders: "Have you understood this extremely important point of the Russian military doctrine? Do you feel in it a direct threat to us, our sovereignty, and our independence?"

I have. Because there is not a single word in that document to the effect that Russia will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. At the same time, our doctrine states explicitly that Ukraine considers the use of these weapons impermissible, that it will never sanction their use, and that the arsenal of Ukraine's external policy precludes their use.

What follows from all of this? Russia reserves the right to be the first to launch a nuclear attack on Ukraine, which

is a nuclear power, while we have even deprived ourselves of the right to retaliate. This is a paradox. We ourselves have planted a bomb for our own destruction.

When this occurred to me, I decided that something must be wrong there, that the Russian doctrine cannot have been published in full, and that there must be something that would refute such thoughts.

Wishful thinking!

On Sunday, 21 November, on the Central Television program "Poligon" [Proving Grounds], Russian Minister of Defense Army General Pavel Grachev was interviewed on the adoption of the Russian Federation's military doctrine.

When asked about the use of nuclear weapons, he answered clearly: We will not use them against those who do not have them or against those who do not have treaties with other states that have them. As regards others, there is nothing about them in the doctrine. Besides, everything is clear. However, at the end of his explanation, Mr. Grachev smiled quite enigmatically as though saying: This is how we are!

I cannot forget that ambiguous smile.

What is behind it? One cannot help feeling apprehensive: Is a nuclear strike really possible?

I think that the whole world will also ponder over this, like the still enigmatic smile of da Vinci's famous Mona Lisa.

People have already started to ponder. Various foreign publications are publishing commentaries. For example, THE WASHINGTON POST clearly stated that Russia's policy on using nuclear weapons contains a threat to those who contemplate joining NATO. There are reasons for thinking this. Experts of the Russian Federation's Foreign Intelligence Service prepared an analytical document entitled "Prospects for Expanding NATO and Russian Interests." It states that one of the consequences of such "prospects" will be the deployment of the world's largest military groupings "in the immediate vicinity of Russian borders." This, it is stated, will make it necessary "for Moscow radically to revise all of its defense concepts, reorganize the armed forces, and deploy an additional military infrastructure, which, in turn, requires a greater burden upon the state budget and may give rise to various moods within the troops."

It is suggested by these words that our Ukraine, which has proclaimed its nonparticipation in blocs, may become a buffer state between NATO and Russia, with all the consequent implications. Let us, therefore, call a spade a spade: Russia has already reserved the right to attack us as a nuclear power. And let those nuclear-free European states that may want to side with NATO remember: This right will immediately apply to them as well. Such a hegemonial and imperial diktat by Russia implicitly proposes that Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania stay put and that Ukraine immediately hand over its strategic

weapons to great Russia, because, otherwise, the nuclear Damoclean sword will always hang over them. However, even if the weapons are transferred to Russia, the "sword" will continue to hang all the same.

However, it is not only Russia that is putting pressure on us. NATO is also exerting pressure (this is shown by the recent conference in Brussels): "Disarm!"—only after that will we establish normal relations with you. As in Mayakovsky's verses: "Reneg!—they roared...." Well, first we renege and then become slaves again. This is an unfair game. Nobody—not Russia, or the United States, or NATO—cares that our reservations and requests for them are exceptionally civilized: Guarantee our security with regard to nuclear or any other attack, respect the inviolability of our borders and the integrity of our territory, lift the economic pressure aimed at forcing us to agree to various concessions, and provide us with financial assistance for destroying our strategic weapons.

What is not clear or excessively demanding here? Everything is as clear as a bell. Canada and China already understand and support us.... At the same time, the United States and Russia seem deaf and blind. Mr. Kozyrev, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, has several times, including in Rome at the CSCE conference, authoritatively stated that friendship is a good thing, but you had better hand over your missiles. On what grounds? Does Russia perhaps also owe us something? It would be only fair to mention Ukraine's contribution to the creation of the USSR's nuclear shield. However, nobody even mentions this. Ukraine is ready to give away even more than it should. Just give us some peace. The nuclear fuel has already been taken away from us. Gold and silver have also been removed. Tactical missiles have been taken away from us for free. How much more?

Mr. Clinton puts pressure on our president, who promises that he will raise the question of repeat voting for the ratification [of START I] at a session of a new Supreme Council. Is the ratification a children's toy? How lucky we are that we have our parliament. No matter whether good or bad, it does not allow presidents to ignore people's interests. These are also the interests of the president and of his children and grandchildren. Does he really think that he will then be able to hide somewhere on the Canary Islands? He has roots here and the graves of his family members are here. The happiness of all of us is also here.

How to explain such a pressure on us? It is possible that the entire secret lies in the fact that the United States intends to rid the former Soviet republics of their nuclear arsenals and then deal with Russia, also disarm it, and become the world's indisputable leader. It is possible that Russia, in turn, also cherishes hopes to take advantage of the situation, seize all the "Soviet" nuclear weapons and also become an absolute master on our continent. As they say, God moves in mysterious ways.

Nor can Ukraine and its state leaders remain unperturbed by the fact that Russia has renounced the USSR's obligations not to use nuclear weapons first and that it has not specified the numerical strength of its armed forces and has granted them the right to be deployed outside their state's borders, if Russia's interests require it. In my opinion, this presents a great danger for us.

Such an important and fateful document as a military doctrine should not be ambiguous and should not provide grounds for various disturbing thoughts and interpretations, all the more so against the background of the unpredictable events that are taking place in Russia.

How can one believe in a future friendship with our northeastern neighbor, when today it deprives us of everything and pushes us into poverty and starvation? It is because of friendly Russia that our production has been halted and heating in our homes turned off. At the same time that same Mr. Kozyrev threatens us with international isolation. Is it possible to build one's people's prosperity upon the misfortunes of another nation? This is a criminal path.

Application Submitted for GATT Membership

*LD2712200193 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 1625 GMT
27 Dec 93*

[Excerpts] Kiev, 27 Dec—On 17 December [as received], a Ukrainian delegation participated in a session of the Council of Representatives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), held in Geneva. Serhiy Osyka, Ukrainian deputy external economic relations minister, made an official application for Ukraine's accession to GATT. [passage omitted]

The participants in the session decided that a working group should be formed to address the issue of Ukraine's accession to GATT. This group may comprise council members at their request. Ukraine and the GATT Council of Representatives should reach agreement on the chairman of the working group.

Germany To Finance Retraining of Ex-Servicemen

*LD2712222893 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 2116 GMT
27 Dec 93*

[Text] Germany, 27 Dec—Germany will provide funds to retrain officers of the Ukrainian Armed Forces who are leaving the service early in connection with a planned reduction in the Army.

A relevant scheme has been agreed by the Committee for Servicemen's Social Protection Issues, attached to the Ukrainian Government, and Munich's "New East" Society in support of economic development. The military will be trained by the hotel management special institute in Kiev.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Addresses Regional Representatives on Economy

LD2312212793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 22 Dec 93

[Report by correspondent Petro Ostapenko on speech given by President Leonid Kravchuk to regional representatives on 22 December; place not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The main task we and the state are faced with today is to survive, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated during his meeting with his district representatives on 22 December. Petro Ostapenko has the story and the details of that conversation.

[Ostapenko] [passage omitted] The head of state voiced his opinions and views on how to alleviate the crisis. Leonid Kravchuk, however, openly admitted that these developments did not appear out of the blue. We, the president emphasized, had forecast this situation, and knew that when the division of states and transformation of their societies and economic basis were over, the crises would be inevitable. But speaking wholeheartedly, Leonid Kravchuk said, I must admit that I did not imagine the full scope of the situation.

There are two causes, in his opinion. The first is the internal one which is restructuring industry and the credit and financial system. However, we failed to find a clear program and the people who would be able to do this and who would think anew. The processes under way in the former USSR republics were designated by Leonid Kravchuk as the external causes of our crisis. Indeed, production is grinding to a halt, not only in Ukraine, but also in our neighbors, including Russia. The president's view is that it is not because separate states have formed, that economic links are being severed, but often because managers of enterprises are not working on this, instead they wait for someone or other to settle everything for them.

Here is how Leonid Kravchuk described this situation:

[Kravchuk] "I can see a strange picture: Everybody is in difficulties. However, I will not shift (?my burden) on (?to you).

"A manager comes to see his work force and says: Well I sent a telegram to the president but he would not answer. So what kind of president is he? Shame on the president. (?This is what he has already) done. I have sent another one, he says. In it, (?in the telegram,) he says: Give me some money, do this, open that. What is this? Is this a civilized state, if the president's functions are to deputize the head of every structure to supply materials and machinery? This, after all, should be arranged by the enterprises themselves."

[Ostapenko] [passage omitted] For example, Leonid Kravchuk quoted the following figures during his meeting with his representatives in regional districts: The total sum of the state budget's expenditure in the nine months of this year is almost 15 trillion karbovantsi, which exceeds its revenue by over 5 trillion karbovantsi, while it was established that that annual figure should be around 1 trillion.

[Kravchuk] "How is it possible to increase the budget's expenditure without increasing its revenue? Who can answer this question? It is of course possible if the money printing machine is at work. That, however, is a different situation. This thing is that when prices were raised I even received telegrams with the following contents: Issue a directive and cancel all this and you will gain prestige with the people. But agriculture was already owed so much that a critical situation would have then followed. That is to say, collective and other farms were already stopping produce deliveries to urban areas, and our animal breeding was (?particularly) loss-making. It would have only been possible to allocate money from the budget, some figures from which I quoted for you, and give it away without any backing. And if everyone of us had gained some temporary prestige today a total collapse would have occurred in month or so. In other words, the collapse would have been inevitable because the farms were unwilling to sell, taking it instead where they were paid. We could have even come to a point where (?our livestock) would have decreased (?drastically), but it has decreased anyway.

"In other words, what I am trying to say is that unless we think about this together—and not just think, but take resolute action, which is the main thing—we will not find a way out, if we do not find ways of replenishing the budget and sorting out the taxation (?service).

"Here I would like to appeal to you directly. The taxation service has to work together with the bodies that this concerns and with administrations, so that they at all costs can find contributions to the budget, to every level of the budget. Otherwise we simply will not survive.

"Our payment balance is in debit. We have a deficit with almost all countries because our consumption of oil, gas, and nonferrous metals, etc. is high. We have to pay for all this. Now no one will give it to us free of charge (?any longer). I would like to repeat that the only way is first, to find reserves and, second, for everyone to be made to pay taxes on the basis of law and order, because the people are saying now that only those pay their tax who...[pauses] But if they do not want to they do not. On that one you will have my absolute support.

"Let them complain about you and do whatever and write. I will resolutely support you in sorting out the taxation system, the export of goods, and the fight against corruption and crime. Here, I would like to repeat, you will have my absolute support whatever resolute action you may take.

"The thing is that they are sometimes talking about an emergency situation. This should not be done, but on any issue you can take emergency measures and emergency steps. By the way, both our legislation and our codes in that respect open the way wider."

[Ostapenko] The Ukrainian president also touched upon the issue of the latest price rises. Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that there simply was no other way out in the present situation. Prices had to be freed, but to make wages equal to them, the fall in production had to be checked. But how can it be done? Here is what the head of state thinks:

[Kravchuk] "They say there are two ways: Everything should be taken firmly under control by the state and administrations and put right. Well it seems at first that this way is acceptable. Can we do it, they say? We will take it under control, make them do it, the people will start working, stop trading, and stop selling something illegally. We will bring everything together and then divide it, and everything will be all right. There is such a point of view. This way is, however, devoid of any prospects and it is an absolutely different system. It can be done, but then the state—and some leaders are right in saying this—will have to provide everything that is necessary. Once it assumes the function of government, sale, management, and so on, it also has to take up the function of provision. There is no other way, such as us taking everything and giving nothing. That is why the only right way, in my view, is to give the producer freedom.

"I have taken these steps, such as, let us say, granting the full extent of greater rights, for example to regions—the full extent of economic rights, it is economic rights and freedoms that I mean and the liberalization of government at regional (?level). A directive has been issued to four regions and a way to implement it is now being devised. We will proceed further toward collectives being given the right to exercise control over the wealth and work force of a collective, and the financial and other resources that it has and earns."

[Ostapenko] [passage omitted] Commenting on Ukraine's free trade unions calling for an all-Ukrainian strike, Leonid Kravchuk said:

[Kravchuk] "This is what I think: If anyone does go on strike, an all-Ukrainian strike that is being threatened, this strike will be the last organized strike. There will then be a continuous strike. There will be no need to organize it because it will no longer be possible to return to (?matters of reality). Those that are so actively threatening a strike must know and realize this. A way out should be found. A way out should be found for the people, particularly the less well off. Families with many children, invalids, pensioners, and those who are in need of specific aid from us should be helped as much as possible. Conditions should be created for those who are able to work to do so, earn a living, trade, sell and buy. I am afraid I cannot see any other way out.

"The situation in the state is extraordinarily difficult and I have spoken about the budget. It would simply not be serious to hope that we could find [word indistinct] where all these issues would be settled locally, and which would contribute to the budget. We would live in a world of illusions rather than in that of (?reality)."

[Ostapenko] [passage omitted] He outlined the tasks that should be performed by the president's local representatives in the course of the election campaign. They, in particular, should supervise its progress, observe compliance with equal opportunities, i.e. do everything for the elections to take place.

[Kravchuk] "The time between now and March will be extremely difficult. If we curb inflation—and we must do this because we simply do not have an alternative—if we check the fall in production, manage to resolve economic and other problems, ensure that the elections are held, and elect a professional and responsible parliament bestowed with foresight, trust me that it will be a very important step toward settling the issues that arise next, that are both economic and political, because then there arises other tasks that also have to be settled on the same basis." [passage omitted]

Further Comments on Economy

AU2712120293 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 21 (42), 16-31 Dec 93 p 1

[First installment of interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by chief editor Valeriy Zholdak at Kravchuk's office on 7 December: "Ukraine Will Be Independent and Strong"]

[Text]

The Ukrainian People May Forget About Price Increases in January

[Zholdak] There is one question, Leonid Makarovych, that particularly concerns Ukraine and the Ukrainian people today. We received an interesting letter. Its author quotes your well-known aphorism, which has become especially fashionable among the various leaders who care about Ukraine's independence in words alone. You have generated the expression "We have what we have." Our reader resents such words and, I think, correctly relates their meaning to the situation that has taken shape in the state. He asserts: "We have what we have been allowed to have." This, Leonid Makarovych, undoubtedly makes a dig at you.... That is why I want to ask you: How could it happen that the Ukrainian people became impoverished overnight and bear a strong grudge against the leaders of our state, in particular against you, following a sharp increase in the price of foodstuffs, not to mention manufactured goods, authorized by the Cabinet of Ministers, which you head? Why has it happened? Please, explain this in simple terms that people can understand and, if possible, without any scientific justification.

[Kravchuk] In simple terms: If we could have real borders with all states of the world, I repeat, real borders and not the transparent ones that we now have, but simply stretches of land with all properties of borders and if we could have customs houses, also with all properties, then we would be able to set, within our country, prices that conform with our economic possibilities. This is first. Second....

[Zholdak] Excuse me, Mr. President, thus, the first reason for the price increase is the transparency of our borders, in other words, the absence of real borders?

[Kravchuk] No, no, I will explain. I will return to the main point....

[Zholdak] I simply want to understand before we go too far....

[Kravchuk] We will not go too far. Today, as we have transparent borders, the prices in a neighboring state automatically influence our situation. For example, our prices are lower and in Russia—higher. Products are taken to Russia, sold there for rubles; the rubles are converted into dollars, and coupons are again obtained....

[Zholdak] Sheer profit!

[Kravchuk] That's right. The process of withdrawal is taking place.

[Zholdak] This is clear.

[Kravchuk] Well, second, prices must correspond to the cost of production. Our prices do not yet correspond to the costs. It is not only a matter of high prices. Do you understand? It is a matter of making prices conform with costs.

[Zholdak] This is precisely what our political columnist Academician Ihor Rafayilovych Yukhnovskyy has been asserting all the time.

[Kravchuk] I know. We must bring the remuneration for labor in line with costs and then the people's standard of living will rise. For example, the price may be one kopek and the wages—two kopeks. You will buy some two things for two kopeks.

[Zholdak] Leonid Makarovych, you say "must bring in line," but when will this "must" become a reality? How will this occur? Are you already elaborating a relevant document? Or are you and your Cabinet still thinking about doing this?

[Kravchuk] Why just think? We are working and elaborating.

[Zholdak] However, shops are now empty; how long will our souls be destroyed by their derelict appearance?

[Kravchuk] Why are they empty? Because everything has been removed from them.

[Zholdak] By whom? Where? Everything removed from all stores simultaneously?

[Kravchuk] One-half of the products have been taken abroad. Collective farms do not sell their produce at such prices....

[Zholdak] Are the products taken abroad right from trading depots? Who is doing this?

[Kravchuk] You do not seem to understand. Collective farms today cannot sell their produce at low prices. They need subsidies, otherwise they will sell their produce according to their costs. There cannot be anything else. We granted 5 trillion ... It seems to me that over one and one-half months the subsidies amounted to 5 trillion! So, when we have a budget, we have to give this sum of 5 trillion to collective farms, and they will sell their products to you at lower prices. As things stand now, they say: Repay our costs, otherwise we cannot expand our production.

[Zholdak] Thus, the reason for price increases yesterday and today lies in transparent borders and in prices that do not correspond to costs?

[Kravchuk] Costs are the main thing. We must either grant subsidies or liberate prices. There is no alternative.

[Zholdak] You have liberated them!

[Kravchuk] Yes, we have. Subsidies did no good. I associate transparent borders with the fact that, if there are subsidies, the products are taken to those places where prices are higher. However, everything is interrelated. I repeat, with subsidies, prices are low. If there are subsidies, we must seal off borders to avoid the removal of products to those places where prices are higher. Do you understand?

[Zholdak] Tell me more specifically. Leonid Mararovych, so that I and those people who read this interview can learn when changes for the better will take place and when the process of our impoverishment will be halted. You should see how many old women have now appeared near bakeries. They are standing there like homeless, hungry animals (I hope they will forgive me for such a comparison).... They ask for a piece of roll, because they have no money to pay for bread.

[Kravchuk] I repeat, when we bring wages in line with costs.

[Zholdak] When will this happen? Tomorrow, in a month, in 10 or 100 years?

[Kravchuk] When we finally determine what energy sources we will have and how much they will cost. In the recent period, Russia has increased the price of energy sources three times. Three times!

[Zholdak] Then it will forever increase them, and we will never....

[Kravchuk] No, no. There is a world price.

[Zholdak] What is it?

[Kravchuk] Today, there is still no world price.

[Zholdak] Why not? When will there be?

[Kravchuk] From what I hear, this January. It is Russia that will determine it.

[Zholdak] In January, Russia will determine it and stabilization will occur?

[Kravchuk] Then we, for our part, will determine the upper limits of prices and will determine the upper limits of costs....

[Zholdak] I see.

[Kravchuk] We will determine the upper limits of wages and of pensions. Then everything will depend upon the productivity of labor. If, for example, we increase production, prices will fall. If production declines, prices will increase. This is natural. It cannot be otherwise. I will quote you a simple example....

To be continued in the next issue.

Kravchuk Chairs Session on Agricultural Problems

LD2712183293 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The coordinative committee for carrying out market reforms and overcoming the economic crisis today held a sitting chaired by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

[Unidentified correspondent] Members of the coordinating committee, who are leading officials from the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and specialists from some of the most important sectors of Ukraine's national economy, as well as ministry and department heads invited to the sitting, considered the issue of subduing the economic crisis and carrying out market reforms in Ukraine's agro-industrial complex. This was exactly the topic of a report by Ukrainian Agriculture and Food Minister Yuriy Karasyk. He characterized in detail the state of affairs in this year's agricultural production in the sector led by him, and priority tasks necessary to be performed next year. Specific sources were named to pay producers for the agricultural produce supplied by the countryside to the state this year.

Specialists, Ukrainian ministerial and enterprise heads invited to the sitting took part in discussing the important tasks facing the agrarians. Alternative plans were proposed in speeches to develop the agro-industrial complex, in particular in the sphere of providing the countryside with energy carriers, fuel and lubricants, and spare parts during sowing next year, including the participation of non-state structures, and specific measures outlined to improve the situation in Ukraine's agro-industrial complex.

Defense Minister Comments on Delays in Servicemen's Pay

LD2712184293 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetsky by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A delay in receiving their pay has lately been causing anxiety among our servicemen. Military journalists asked Army General Vitaliy Radetsky, Ukraine's defense minister, to clarify the situation:

[Radetsky] Yesterday, just as the commander in chief and our state's president, Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, assembled us for a session, he stressed the importance of paying the wages, and in our presence set the Cabinet of Ministers the task of paying the Armed Forces their wages and ration money on time. So a delay, some 10-15 days long, does, in my opinion, cause certain anxiety.

I believe, however, that this issue should not give rise to concerns. The state will do everything for the defenders of our state to be paid their wages and ration money on time.

[Correspondent] And everyone will (?be paid) by the new year...

[Radetsky, interrupting] Everyone and (?everything), because funds to the amount of approximately 400 billion—400, yes that is right, 400—were secured yesterday to pay their wages and ration money.

[Correspondent] There are no particular grounds for concern, it is the responsibility of those in local financial services to settle the issue and to execute the task.

Supreme Council Approves Religious Freedom Resolution

LD2412134993 Kiev UNIA in Ukrainian 1002 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 23 December—The evening session of the Supreme Council approved a new version of Section 3 of Article 17 of the Law of Ukraine on the Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations. First Deputy Speaker Vasyl Durdynets announced in connection with this that state-owned religious buildings and property might be transferred for use in turn by religious communities through mutual consensus. Should there be no such consensus, a state body will determine a procedure for their use by way of concluding a separate agreement with each of the communities.

Deputies passed the draft resolution on steps to stabilize the socio-economic situation in Ukraine, agreed with Economy Minister Roman Shepek and Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachynko. The resolution, in particular, is

about resuming trade on the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange and contains a proposal that the Ukrainian president should immediately present to the Ukrainian Supreme Council a candidacy for Ukraine's prime minister to be approved by the latter body.

The parliament obligated the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers to release enterprises, establishments, and organizations from the payment of fines for exceeding the consumption fund from December this year and to draw up a single procedure for consumption funds to be formed at enterprises, establishments, and organizations regardless of their form of ownership, by 1 February.

It was suggested that the Cabinet of Ministers should repeal its telegram relating to reassessing the value of the remainder of commodities and materials and that the NBU [National Bank of Ukraine] do the same with the one banning any credits from being granted to establishments.

It was proposed that a mechanism to forward aid to the badly off should be developed and a draft law on the poverty line be submitted for the Supreme Council's approval by 1 January 1994.

It was also suggested that a list of goods subject to an excise duty and the specification of its rates should be submitted for the Supreme Council's approval by 1 January.

A national economic restructuring program is to be presented by 1 February.

The National Bank of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers are to present to the Supreme Council a draft law on changes and amendments in the Law of Ukraine on Currency Regulation by 17 January.

Kuchma Interviewed on Upcoming Elections

LD2712171393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1500 GMT on 27 December, in its regular "Novosti newscast, broadcasts a 3-minute report by correspondent Vitaliy Pidchenko from a conference of Ukrainian industrialists and businessmen, which calls for the election of centrist candidates in the upcoming Supreme Council elections.

"Eminent politicians took part in the work of the forum including Leonid Kuchma who was recently elected president of the Union of Ukrainian Industrialists and Businessmen," Pidchenko says.

On the subject of elections to the Supreme Soviet, Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma says:

"I would like to see sensible people in the Supreme Soviet in the first instance, practical people. I have no hope of any major step forward. I am trying to make my own small contribution. This majority could form a government which could carry out reforms."

Pidchenko asks Kuchma: "Do you, personally, intend to enter the presidential election marathon in the future?"

Kuchma replies: "I have been very cautious in my approach to such questions so far. I see my task as being to form this majority in parliament. We must explain to people that they must not elect candidates who are too far to the left or too far to the right. Otherwise we shall be in a sorry plight."

Politicians Discuss New Alignment of Forces

WS2812110093 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian
16-22 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Volodymyr Filenko and Taras Stetskiv, leaders of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine, and Volodymyr Katsman, leader of the New Ukraine press center, by Oleh Shmid; place and date not given: "Marriage"]

[Text] [Shmid] It will be easier to understand the nature of the alliance between Kuchma and Hrynyov if we find out why they need one another.

[Katsman] Hrynyov is very attractive to Leonid Kuchma, because he possess what other politicians lack—business structures in both the east and the south. Volodymyr Hrynyov is supported by business circles from Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolayiv, Kherson, and Sumy. These circles have really large amounts of money. In these regions, New Ukraine has established its centers, which are closely tied with private business, especially for Hrynyov. Each of these business structures comprises 40-50 people.

Another thing that forces Kuchma to unite with Hrynyov is his desire to get rid of high-level critics. Volodymyr Hrynyov has monitored activities of the Kuchma government as well as previous ones. However, I believe that he will not reveal the results during the upcoming New Ukraine congress...

Additionally, Kuchma, who has never been a politician, needs a man who knows all aspects of politics. Leonid Kuchma knows that Hrynyov will have influence in the legislature and, circumstances permitting, will lead deputies in a desirable direction.

Why does Hrynyov need Kuchma? Currently, Volodymyr Borysovyh [Hrynyov] does not want directors to lobby to prevent entrepreneurial circles to have their representatives in the Supreme Council. He would like to reach an agreement with the directors on dividing legislative seats. Additionally, Hrynyov is interested in the presidential race, in which Kuchma will also participate.

[Stetskiv] There have been enough reasons for establishing the alliance of the former prime minister and the former Supreme Council chairman. However, I believe that this political bloc will not be stable, since the compromise that made this possible was based merely on a lust for power. During the presidential campaign,

Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma] and Volodymyr Borysovych will part. Directors-administrators and directors-liberals are standing on principal antipodes. They can unite only to seize power and, immediately afterwards, divide it among themselves.

A person very close to Kuchma has told me about one possible combination between liberal Hrynyov and administrator Kuchma: Leonid Kuchma is elected president, Hrynyov becomes Supreme Council chairman. Although I am sure that the allies do not yet know how they will share power, I expect that it will be the state directorate which will dictate terms in the union of the directors' monster and business. If businessmen are opposed to that, the bloc will collapse.

[Shmid] Everything depends on the composition of party lists in eastern Ukraine—how many seats will the allies designate for businessmen, and how many for state directors.

[Katsman] Hrynyov's entrepreneurs are to nominate 10 candidates in each of the 10 Dnipropetrovsk districts, and five of them have already been named...

[Stetskiv] I believe that in Dnipropetrovsk, entrepreneurs will have to share those seats with presidential representative Lazarenko. The latter has already understood that it is time to negotiate. He has realized that the ex-speaker is lighter and runs faster. Due to that, he will have to give up four or five districts. By the way, Maselenskyy, presidential representative in Kharkiv, will also have to bargain with Hrynyov.

[Shmid] Hrynyov still is the leader of New Ukraine, and New Ukraine includes the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine [PDVU]. What role will this party and its leader, Volodymyr Filenko, play in the Kuchma-Hrynyov tandem?

[Stetskiv] Hrynyov demands that PDVU support his alliance with Kuchma. The party's leadership is still weighing this issue. Hrynyov wants to attract an organizer as good as Filenko, and he has offered him another position. However, it is not sure whether Filenko will accept this.

PDVU plays the role of the glue which keeps New Ukraine together. A meeting between Hrynyov and Filenko is to be held this week. I believe that they will be able to reach the following compromise: The PDVU leaders will observe Hrynyov's activities in the Interregional Reform Bloc [MBR], and Volodymyr Borysovych will watch PDVU's reaction.

[Shmid] Can one consider Filenko's move at the Rukh congress to be a final decision on which side he will join—national democrats of the Kuchma-Hrynyov bloc?

[Filenko] It is obvious that PDVU will not run in the elections alone; it will look for allies. Although New Ukraine is our priority partner, this organization is too weak for electoral battle. We have agreed with national democratic organizations on establishing a permanent

council of political forces. Yet, when the council began to establish its organizational structures, after its chairmen and Presidium were elected, and after it was transformed into a union, PDVU annulled its signature. Although we remain one of the Rukh's strategic allies, a tactical bloc with this organization would weaken both us and Rukh. Following such an alliance, Rukh would lose in western Ukraine and we would lose our electorate in the east. So, is it wiser to come under fire together, or is it better to operate separately? If the point had been an alliance with Rukh, the Ukrainian Republican Party, or the Democratic Party of Ukraine, there would have been fewer doubts. But, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists also signed the agreement...

[Shmid] How will New Ukraine and the Democratic Center cooperate in the upcoming elections?

[Filenko] When it became obvious that New Ukraine was unprepared for the elections, we decided to establish the Democratic Center, which should become a new block of New Ukraine and PDVU. One should keep in mind the present electoral law. People will be elected in 450 electoral districts. Everything will depend on which candidate we present in a particular district. It does not have to be a party candidate.

[Shmid] Are you not afraid that a candidate supported by PDVU will isolate himself from the party after being elected to the legislature?

[Filenko] I am afraid of that, but we have such an electoral law and we must put up with it. I predict that the new legislature will not last long, and perhaps, we will have to prepare for another round of legislative elections. If representatives of PDVU or the Democratic Center are too weak in the legislature, we will establish an extraparlimentary opposition to the entire Supreme Council.

[Shmid] Does this mean that PDVU will demand that its representatives leave the authorities, for example, the government?

[Filenko] I believe that we are not able to form a government on a political basis today. Therefore, parties will not be able to control their representatives, and probably, certain people will join the authorities despite their parties' decisions. Not every politician realizes that alone he will not achieve anything in the government. Every party must go through such a stage of development. If a leader is lured by power despite his party's recommendations, he will run the risk of losing party support in subsequent elections.

[Shmid] Paradoxically, Hrynyov intends to be intact heading a dozen or so political and business structures, which have already entered the electoral campaign. Although he has managed not to clash with any of those organizations so far, it is logical that the establishing of MBR can lead to disagreements with New Ukraine.

[Stetskiv] As a matter of fact, the current situation is very unique. Hrynyov is not only the leader of New Ukraine, but also one of the founders of the Democratic Center. Recently, he has established MBR with Kuchma. The situation is unpredictable: It is still possible that the Democratic Center, which has already gathered over 50 renowned politicians, will disintegrate. However it is also possible that the center will grow stronger and compete with MBR. In my opinion, the Democratic Center will win, however, it will remain a strong organization only as long as all currently participating personalities remain as members. Otherwise, Hrynyov should leave the Democratic Center.

[Katsman] I asked Volodymyr Hrynyov how the establishment of MBR would affect the Democratic Center. He replied that he would fight on all the front lines—in New Ukraine, the Democratic Center, PDVU, and MBR.

[Stetskiv] It is hard to predict whether the Democratic Center will demand that Hrynyov explain his deeds. PDVU is still maneuvering. He is number one in the Democratic Center, however we understand that the Democratic Center is less important than the directors. MBR could become number three.

[Katsman] It is quite possible that Hrynyov, explaining his activities to the Democratic Center, will say: "Boys, I will lead your bloc to victory, but you must give me all powers."

[Stetskiv] Hrynyov, considering himself a devoted liberal, has made a great mistake in forming an alliance with Kuchma, since the latter is totally oriented and biased toward Russia. By the way, the Hrynyov-Kuchma tandem is the only one political force in Ukraine that is supported by Moscow. I am convinced that the dealing with Russia will transform the Kuchma-Hrynyov team into some kind of fifth column.

[Katsman] I believe that Hrynyov is not a man from which a fifth column could be composed. He advocates the idea that Russia and Ukraine should join Europe simultaneously.

[Stetskiv] However, Europe does not want this. It wants Russia to control Ukraine, and that they both stay away from the West. It is comfortable for them that Russia takes responsibilities for its satellites. Europe thinks that post-Soviet republics are too big for joining it. In practice, Hrynyov says that Ukraine will be stopped on its path to the West. I would argue with him on this point: Ukraine should join Europe before Russia does. Whereas Ukraine still have a chance to do this, Russia does not. However, to achieve this, the current course should be changed. A political pro-European leadership should assume power. So far, Ukraine has not taken any step that would lead toward Europe and a market economy.

'Democratic Movement' Leader Interviewed on Elections

AU2812120693 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 49 (130), Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, leader of the "democratic movement," by Maryna Bondarenko; place and date not given: "The Myth About the Guilt of Democrats Needs To Be Refuted"]

[Text] Parliamentary elections in spring 1994 are to become a decisive event for our state. At any rate, this is the hope of the Ukrainian people, who, in the difficult conditions of our present-day existence, have simply clenched their teeth and, perhaps, live with the last hope: After the elections, everything will change for the better. With God's help!

How we are going to live, what Ukraine will be like, and whether it will be in general—all of this, indeed, largely depends upon the people who come to the new parliament. The future of Ukraine also depends, to the same extent, on whether our democratic forces realize the need to consolidate. Our correspondent had a conversation about this with one of the leaders of the democratic movement, Levko Lukyanenko.

[Bondarenko] Levko Hryhorovych, what do the democrats intend to set off against their opponents?

[Lukyanenko] Of course, our society is not Eden and our politicians are not angels. It is impossible to create a pre-election coalition in which full harmony would prevail. It is simply unrealistic. However, it is extremely necessary today to overcome internal differences in order to unite democratic forces. This process has already started. The democratic alliance has practically encompassed all major democratic parties and organizations (there are 24 of them today).

Ukraine's independence, the strengthening of statehood, comprehensive and fast reforms, the struggle against organized crime, and ecological problems—these are the ideological principles to which the democratic bloc adheres.

[Bondarenko] What specifically is the democratic bloc doing to prepare for the elections?

[Lukyanenko] On 4 December, the permanent conference of leaders of democratic parties and organizations adopted an appeal stressing that the situation in which Ukraine has found itself is due to incapability on the part of the party of power to bring about reforms in society, something that has been proved by the two years of leadership. We must openly declare which is which.

In the course of the pre-election campaign, it is necessary to refute the myth, extensively disseminated by the old nomenclatura, about the democrats' guilt for all the troubles in our society: The democrats came to power, and here are the consequences.... However, democrats did not have power: Starting from 1985, they were in an

unofficial opposition and, starting from 1990, having made their way to the Supreme Council, they have constituted an official opposition to that same communist nomenklatura.

In the parliament elected three years ago, democrats constituted 25 percent of the total number of deputies. We analyze the distribution of political forces in Ukraine and elections that were already held in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and other states and we understand that, of course, it is unrealistic to set ourselves the goal of obtaining 450 mandates.

In my opinion, we can get between 51 and 55 percent representation in the new parliament. This would enable the Supreme Council to make up a reform government. However, such results are only possible in conditions of an active pre-election campaign and high consciousness on the part of voters.

[Bondarenko] What are, in your opinion, characteristic features of the democratic movement today?

[Lukyanenko] There was a period of a very vigorous growth of the democratic movement in 1987 and 1988. The time is past when our entire spiritual life and political activity revolved around the problem of achieving state independence. Two main political tasks have been resolved: A democratization of Ukrainian society and a proclamation of Ukraine's independence. This, undoubtedly, had an effect upon the moods prevailing among the people and, in particular, among democratic forces.

However, today, a third and extremely important task arises—the transformation of a socialist economy into a market one. The majority of people need to philosophically comprehend the present period in history in order to realize that the present epoch has put before us, in addition to political, also extremely important economic problems. In this situation, many people have lost their orientation and this has led to a further weakening of the democratic movement.

Speaking about the further development of the democratic movement, it is connected, first and foremost, with the implementation of reforms and the resolution of the entire complex of the most topical political and economic problems.

Nationalist Organization Meets, Sets Goals

*WS2812121093 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian
1600 GMT 27 Dec 93*

[Text] On 29 December [as published] in Lvov, a meeting of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine [OUNvU], which was registered by the Ministry of Justice on 17 November, was held. The meeting was attended by representatives of the OUNvU General Command and regional commands.

General Command Chairman Mykola Slyvka reported that OUNvU intends to actively participate in the upcoming legislative elections.

Ivan Kandyba, deputy chairman of the General Command and honorable chairman of the Union of State Independence of Ukraine [DSU], stated that, in connection with the establishment of OUNvU, the existence of DSU is no longer justified, adding that he will make all possible efforts to unite the two parties.

Bohdan Chuyko, an OUNvU member who was a political prisoner for many years, said that the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists headed by Slava Stetsko is a "product of diaspora ideology" and an "asylum for resurgent communists."

Participants in the meeting were greeted by Mykhaylo Pavlyshyn, chairman of the Lvov branch of the Congress of National Democratic Forces, Volodymyr Parubiy, head of the Rukh's Lvov branch, and Petro Huk, a member of the Social Nationalist Party of Ukraine.

Taras Drobchak, head of the Lvov branch of the OUNvU, accused Yuriy Zyma, first deputy chief of the Lvov Oblast Administration, of breaking his promise to provide the Lvov Opera House as a site for the OUNvU meeting.

Six Candidates for Crimean President Registered

*WS2812104793 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 27 Dec 93*

[Text] On 27 December, the Crimean Central Electoral Committee completed the registration of candidates for Crimean president by discussing the applications of three candidates. The committee refused to register two of them, including well-known businessman Yuriy Kolesnykov, after having declared invalid some of the signatures collected by the prospective candidates. Viktor Mezhak of the Popular Party of Crimea also withdrew his candidacy on 27 December, citing the formation of the new Rosiya electoral bloc with the Republican Party; Mezhak withdrew in favor of Republican Party leader Yuriy Meshkov. Thus, there are now six candidates for the post of Crimean president. Three of them—Mykola Bahrov, Ivan Yermakov, and Volodymyr Levkoshanskyy—are registered as independents, while Yuriy Meshkov, Leonid Hrach, and Serhiy Shuwaynikov represent pro-Russian and pro-communist forces on the peninsula.

Pro-Russian Election Bloc Formed in Crimea

*LD2612150193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in
Ukrainian 0900 GMT 26 Dec 93*

[Text] On 25 December several pro-Russian political parties and public movements in the Crimea formed a bloc for the duration of the election campaign called Rosiya. At the constituent conference the candidates for president of the [Crimean] Republic, left-wing leader in Sevastopol Oleksandr Kruhlov and chairman of the

People's Party Viktor Mezhak declared that they refused to continue running for the presidency and proposed that their supporters should cast their votes for the RDK [Republican Movement of Crimea] leader Yuriy Meshkov who, therefore, became the bloc's only candidate. The Rosiya Party, whose head Serhiy Shuvaynikov also plans to occupy the president's chair and who holds meetings with the electorate very actively, refrained from joining the bloc. However, on election day, the electors who like both candidates equally may opt for a third one as well: for the chairman of the Communist Party of the Crimea, Leonid Hrach, whose program also clearly outlines reference points directed at Russia.

Republicans, Civic Congress To Boycott Elections

WS2812092693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Crimean regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party has adopted a decision to boycott the upcoming presidential elections in the Crimea. The Big Council of the Ukrainian Civic Congress of the Crimea has also issued an appeal that the 16 January elections be ignored. Earlier, a similar appeal to refrain from participating in the illegal presidential elections was made by the National Movement of Crimean Tartars.

Preparations for 'Special Situation' in Sevastopol

PM2812101193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Semena report: "Plans To Introduce Special Situation in Sevastopol"]

[Text] Simferopol—Contrary to "Ostankino" reports, a special situation has not yet been introduced in Sevastopol, but the city's state administration, the city soviet, the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian Navy command, and

the law enforcement organs are preparing for its introduction. Preliminary regime measures have been adopted and a conference was held with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk.

A special decree by the collegium under the Ukrainian president's mission introduced a two-shift work regime for the city's Internal Affairs Administration as of 25 December, employing two-thirds of its personnel in the evening and at night. The fleet's armored personnel carriers are on duty at checkpoints in the city. Each day the fleet assigns 300 servicemen for patrol duty in the city, including armed officer patrols as well as motor launches, motor vehicle transport, helicopters, and armored equipment. With help from enterprises, the city has reinstated 25 public stations for the maintenance of law and order in microrayons, and funds have been allocated for the maintenance of regular militia assistance detachments and additional purchases of gasoline, diesel fuel, and other fuel and lubricants. The procedure for entering the city—which is already closed—has been tightened.

The need to introduce a special situation is attributed by the city's leadership to the aggravation of the crime situation. Three Black Sea Fleet officers have been killed and 87 have been assaulted. Operations have resulted in the detention of several groups of out-of-town criminals numbering between five and eight members, which had specialized in racketeering, robbing state institutions, and mugging citizens. Weapons have been confiscated, including Kalashnikov and Degtyarev machineguns and a large quantity of bullets.

The special situation has not yet been introduced due to the lack of legal justification for it. A special commission, including the city's Ministry of Justice branch, is drafting a statute; following the statute's adoption, the special regime will be introduced by means of a decision by either the state administration or the city soviet session. L. Pirogova, leader of the state administration press service, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the statute may provide for a curfew banning adolescents from the city streets at night between the hours of 2100 and 0600 and may empower patrols to search automobiles and citizens' personal belongings.

Belarus**Doctors Term Shushkevich's Health 'Satisfactory'**

LD2712172093 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1636
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk December 27 BELINFORM-TASS—According to the press-service of the Supreme Soviet of the Belarusian Republic, the state of health of Stanislav Shushkevich, the head of the Belarusian Parliament, is estimated by doctors as satisfactory.

Shushkevich continues to undergo a course of intensive therapy in the vascular surgery department of the Minsk regional hospital after he suffered a critical rise in blood pressure a few days ago and was therefore unable to attend the Commonwealth summit in Ashgabat.

According to unofficial sources, a consilium [as received] is to be held on Tuesday, December 28, to decide how long the Supreme Soviet chairman must stay in hospital.

Prosecutor General Refutes Claims of Alleged Coup Plot

WS2812120993 Minsk *VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian* 22 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Rumors About a Coup Deemed Exaggerated"]

[Text] An official response was circulated in the parliament on 9 November to claims by Z. Paznyak that the use of militia and Interior Ministry detachments to maintain order during the 13th Belarusian Supreme Council session might have been illegal. The document was signed by Prosecutor General V. Sholodonov. He said that allegations made by Paznyak about the supposedly plotted dissolution of parliament by a narrow circle of government officials, led by Prime Minister Kebich, were simply not true. At the same time, it was noted that certain political forces actually attempted to destabilize the situation, which was publicized by Belarusian Popular Movement supporters in provocative leaflets disseminated in many towns encouraging opposition and confrontation.

On 8 November, Colonel General V. Yegorov, minister of interior, approved a plan intended to ensure order in Independence Square during the Belarusian Supreme Soviet session. V. Sholodonov said that this plan was devised to provide normal working conditions for legislative and executive institutions, as well as personal security for the deputies. The decision to assign the troops and orders regarding their quantity and equipment were those of Major General K. Platonov, deputy interior minister. The decision was also signed by Colonel General E. Shirkovskiy, chairman of the KGB.

To maintain order, 800 servicemen were sent by the Interior Ministry. Of them, 190 fulfilled their mission in the combat protection in front of the Government House. The rest stood ready at their stationing sites. There was no official decision by the government to engage Interior Ministry troops for the protection of public order during those days.

The prosecutor general deemed the actions of militia and Interior Ministry servicemen legal and within the limits of their competence.

Military Representatives Approved at Enterprises

WS2712140193 Minsk *BELAPAN in Belarusian* 0731
GMT 27 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Annexing of Military Representatives at Enterprises Approved"]

[Text] The Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers has approved an annex on Ministry of Defense representatives at enterprises, offices, and organizations, which implement the designs, tests, production, and supplies of military equipment and stores. According to this document, the representatives should have control over the quality of the designs and production, as well as the assembling, and testing of equipment, and the formal acceptance of the military production at the enterprises. Other functions of the representatives include control over the readiness of those enterprises with mobilization tasks to provide production of special designation, as well as the participation in working out security measures and multifold countermeasures against foreign technical intelligence services. The activities of the representatives are coordinated by the Central Military Representation.

Kazakhstan

Military Cooperation With Russia Increases

Defense Minister Advocates Close Ties

LD2812105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1034
GMT 28 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty December 28 TASS—"Close military cooperation with Kazakhstan's strategic ally, the Russian Federation, is essential for Kazakhstan", said Kazakhstan's Defense Minister Sagadat Nurmagametov. "There are real conditions for this. The treaty of friendship and cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia serves as the legal basis. We have good contacts with the general staff of the Russian armed forces". Nurmagametov made this statement at a military collegium. A report about it was published by the newspaper "KAZAKHSTAN SARBAZY" (Kazakhstan Soldier) on Tuesday.

The newspaper writes Kazakhstan is so far the only state in Central Asia that has adopted a military doctrine, has formulated its views on the prevention of war, on military construction, the readying of the republics and its armed forces for repulsing a possible aggression. Kazakhstan's military doctrine is defensive and presupposes cooperation with countries of the CIS in resolving joint defensive tasks on a basis of multilateral and bilateral intergovernmental treaties and agreements.

Reading the results of the past academic year, the Kazakhstan defense minister said that the situation in the troops after the dissolution of the armed forces of the former union had stabilised and the combat training of the personnel had been organised. The shortage of officers poses a problem. The flow of officers to other countries, the discharge of young officers from the forces cannot but have a negative effect. Material and technical supply of the forces causes difficulties because of the rupture of economic ties.

Baykonur Deal, Accords Detailed

PM2712201593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Anatoliy Ladin and Oleg Falichev: "Russian 'Nuclear Umbrella' Under the Kazakh Sun?"]

[Text] The talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in Almaty ended on 25 December. A considerable part of those talks was devoted to military problems.

On the basis of the results of the meeting the heads of governments signed among other things the memorandum "On Mutual Understanding on Questions of Ensuring the Functioning of the Baykonur Space Center." Commenting on the documents presented for signing,

Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation, noted that they now make it possible to carry out all work at the space center normally and determine the procedure for the shipment across the border of the goods necessary for work to be conducted at Baykonur. The Russian military contingent is remaining here and its daily life and activity will be governed by Russian laws.

Viktor Stepanovich also added that the heads of the Russian and Kazakhstan governments have been instructed by those states' presidents to prepare documents on military and military-technical cooperation in January 1994.

What does the memorandum say? It is important that it speaks not only about the space center but also about the test ranges sited on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan and about military cooperation. It is envisaged that Russia will use the military installations under lease from the Republic of Kazakhstan. In this regard the operation of the Baykonur space center and the test ranges will be ensured by the Russian Government or authorized organs of state administration. The Russian military formations supporting these installations are stationed on Kazakhstan's territory temporarily. Their status will be determined by a separate agreement.

During the talks the heads of the Russian and Kazakhstan governments expressed mutual satisfaction at the fact that the Republic of Kazakhstan has affiliated to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty as a state not possessing nuclear weapons. The Russian side has expressed a readiness to offer guarantees of safety to Kazakhstan as a nonnuclear weapon state together with other depositories of the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty and at the same time to give military assistance if necessary to repulse external aggression and to counter other encroachments on the security and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The sides recognized the need to begin holding bilateral talks on the implementation of the START I treaty and the package of Lisbon accords as well as the need to agree a timetable in the very near future for the withdrawal of all the nuclear warheads in the Republic of Kazakhstan to Russian territory.

At the talks the sides also examined questions of scrapping the strategic offensive weapons stationed in Kazakhstan and to reimburse the republic the equivalent value of the fissionable materials and components of the nuclear weapons and so forth.

As we can see, they relate to the most acute and vital problems affecting the life and service of Russian servicemen in this republic. The fact that the ice has finally been broken here is perhaps the most important outcome of these talks. After all, people in uniform, for all their discipline and composure, must have clear prospects and guarantees of social and legal protection. Here, you would think, there is still broad scope for the work of the politicians and lawyers: In addition to Baykonur and the

ranges there are other Russian military units stationed in Kazakhstan. For example, it has part of the missile early warning system. Status and the conditions for continued presence abroad must be defined for these units, too. Meanwhile, unfortunately, all they can do is wait and hope.

Strategic Defense Cooperation Discussed

FM2712151593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 3

[Interviews with Major General Alibek Kasymov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, and Sergey Tyurin, Russian Federation consul in Kazakhstan, by Oleg Falichev in Almaty; date not given: "Russia-Kazakhstan: How We Will Fulfill Alliance Obligations"]

[Text] Talks have begun in Almaty between delegations from Russia and Kazakhstan on the future of the Russian military units on that republic's territory. What is the crux of the problem?

Recently our correspondent met with Major General Alibek Kasymov, chief of the Republic of Kazakhstan Armed Forces General Staff, and Sergey Tyurin, Russian Federation consul in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

[Falichev] Alibek Khamidovich, what is the Kazakhstani Defense Ministry's position on the continued presence of Russian units on the republic's territory?

[Kasymov] The question of the missile attack early warning unit, for example, forms part of the decision on the 1972 ABM Treaty, in other words, it takes account of Kazakhstan's possible accession to that treaty. We know the Russian Federation's stance that Kazakhstan is not party to it as it does not have the status of a nuclear state. But what is the most important factor of the ABM defense system? The main criterion for membership of the ABM system is the intellectual potential, which Russia possesses in this sphere unlike Kazakhstan. And we lay no claim to that property. Thus the issue today is solely one of the mechanics of the question, so to speak. There is a treaty between the United States and the USSR on ABM systems and their limitation and there are ABM defense elements present on Kazakhstan's territory. We think that it is necessary to review this treaty now.

In the historical situation which has evolved, Kazakhstan objectively has ABM elements and part of the nuclear missile early warning system is deployed on its territory. This installation is one of the most important in the former USSR's global ABM defense system.

Neither Russia nor Kazakhstan can do without that unit. That is why we say: Since this is how things have turned out it is necessary to determine new conditions for the creation of the "nuclear club" whether on a multilateral basis or on a bilateral basis with Russia. Furthermore, this must be enshrined in the corresponding protocol on the principle of the Lisbon protocol. It must be clearly

recorded in it that this is our property. And that a mechanism for the transfer of the ABM defense system to Russia's control will be elaborated. And Russia in its turn assumes a commitment to ensure the ABM defense of the territory of Kazakhstan.

[Falichev] So it is a question of determining the sides' functions, powers, and obligations?

[Kasymov] I would stress that we are not closing the test ranges or these units but, on the contrary, we are creating the conditions for them to operate. But what else is at issue here? For a year now we have been working with the Russian Federation on the conclusion of the treaty on military cooperation which stems from the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Russia and Kazakhstan signed on 25 May. But so far this document remains in a state of suspense. You yourself can see that this is bound to have an effect on the future of the Russian officers serving on Kazakh territory.

[Falichev] As we can see, the Republic of Kazakhstan Defense Minister's stance is quite tough but it suggests a search for ways toward mutual understanding and compromises. Here is how Sergey Tyurin, the Russian Federation consul in Kazakhstan, views this problem:

[Tyurin] The Russian missile early warning unit in Kazakhstan is a very important installation which is at the forefront of scientific and technical progress. To disregard it would be a retrograde step for us, just as what happened with the Baykonur center was a retrograde step in the space sphere.

People have many questions to ask. Well, according to the formulation of citizenship it is clear, the corresponding order already exists and it will be given. But in Moscow they are dragging their heels. I have not seen a single entry in a passport, in an officer's identity card, or in a birth certificate. People make promises but meanwhile the deadline is approaching.

Here is another problem. To what extent are these troops Russian? The entire contingent of sergeants and privates there are Kazakhstani. What oath do they take? The assistant commander for work with personnel who accompanied me said: We receive their oath. In other words, Russians receive the oath from Kazakhstanis. How can foreigners from one side or another serve in the army of a sovereign state? And at a strategic facility, furthermore. But in the missile early warning unit's encampment they have a local KGB and prosecutor.... Over whom they do exercise their powers—Russian citizens? It is the same picture at Baykonur where they even have their own militia. I certainly do not want to partition Russia and Kazakhstan, they have not moved very far from one another anyway and the prospects suggest a rapprochement....

You cannot live without status any more than you can live without regulations. If you have status the rest

resolves itself. That is true here and for the other Russian units in Kazakhstan. I hope that the problem of status will be resolved....

Tereshchenko Stresses Need for Strong Army

LD2312214293 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] A two-day meeting of heads of mobilization organs of ministries, departments, amalgamations, and enterprises of oblast, Almaty, and Leninsk city administrations began in Almaty today.

Their aim is to discuss problems in this sphere and outline ways of improving preparations for economic mobilization in cases of war and emergency.

The meeting was opened by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. He stressed that even the decline of production and growth of inflation must not decrease security of our sovereign republic. Despite difficulties, the military doctrine adopted in the republic and the law on defense and the Armed Forces oblige all bodies of power and management to strictly observe military mobilization readiness of the national economy. We hold dear the stability in our society, the head of government said, and aim at providing guarantees to citizens for a calm life in the future. But without a sufficiently strong army of our own, these guarantees will not be absolutely complete. That is why we should more actively promote the development of our own Armed Forces. It is important to preserve reliable sources for financing our defense measures, and activities in manning our armed units with officers and soldiers, for regular supplies of equipment, ammunition, and food.

State advisor Suleymenov and other speakers highlighted the current shortcomings in this work and offered various solutions directed at the improvement in preparations for mobilizing the national economy.

Nazarbayev Appoints New Security Chief

LD2712132293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1226 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty, 27 Dec—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev today appointed a new chairman of the republic's Committee for National Security. He is Major General Sat Tokpakhbayev, who worked as deputy chairman of the same department.

The former head of the committee, Bulat Bayekenov, becomes deputy chairman of the republic's Security Council. Until now this post was filled on an unpaid basis by one of the state counsellors.

Nazarbayev Appoints Supreme Court Chairman

LD2812133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty December 28 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev issued a decree appointing Mikhail Malakhov chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Court, the KAZTAG information agency reported on Tuesday [28 December].

Malakhov was born in the city of Kuybyshev. He graduated as a lawyer in Sverdlovsk and worked in different posts in Kazakh regional courts. Malakhov was Kazakh first deputy justice minister and first deputy chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Court.

Former chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Court, Tamas Aitmukhambetov, was relieved of his duties in accordance with the Kazakh president's decree.

Nazarbayev Comments on New Economic Course

MK2312135093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Kazakhstan" rubric: "Nazarbayev Alters Course But Still Hopes for Entrepreneurs' Support"]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced a change in his country's economic course when he met with Kazakhstan's entrepreneurs. "I sincerely tried to embrace the ruble zone, but the documents signed proved useless. I can appreciate what the ministers of the economy and finance, and the chairman of the Central Bank of Russia feel, and I realize that as economists they are doing the right thing. But they did not ask the people who determine Russia's strategic interests." Now Nazarbayev thinks that the Kazakhstan state's main efforts should be directed at strengthening the national currency. In this connection, subsidies to money losing enterprises will virtually stop, whereas the more essential sectors will be subsidized. If they still prove unable to pay back state credits, they will be sold by auction. Besides, Nazarbayev announced the rolling back of programs that he characterized as populist. For example, the program connected with the Semipalatinsk test site and the Aral Sea. "The victims have been waiting for 40 years, let them wait another five or six," Nazarbayev said. "The most important thing for us today is to pull out of the economic crisis and maintain the new currency." The Kazakhstan president at the same time stated that, unlike Russia, his country is not leaving to blind chance the essential industrial fields and primarily the fuel and energy complex. But here Kazakhstan is going to alter the traditional transit routes. (Certain circles in Russia are believed to be using these routes for political pressure on Kazakhstan). For example, new transit routes will run across the People's Republic of China, Iran, and Turkey.

President Nazarbayev called upon the entrepreneurs to participate actively in the future parliamentary elections. "My fulcrum is directors and entrepreneurs. For you I am building a legislative parliamentary base."

But Nazarbayev is worried about the outcome of the elections in neighboring Russia even more than about the parliamentary elections. In Nazarbayev's opinion, Russia should follow a democratic path as before, otherwise it would not be able to get any assistance from the West. "There is no inequality in Kazakhstan," Nazarbayev stressed as he was inaugurating a new generating unit of the GRES-2 [State Regional Electric Power Station] in Ekibastuz, "and as a guarantor of the rights of Kazakhstan's people of various nationalities, I once again confirm this." Nazarbayev said that those who call for kindling interethnic strife should be severely punished, and he added that "instigators in Russia engaged in intrigue are not the whole of Russia, not the whole of the Russian people." The Kazakhstan president, however, thought that Zhirinovskiy in his speeches had been stimulated by some careless remarks of Russian Government spokesmen.

Decree Simplifies Citizenship Procedures

LD2312233193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1910 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Amangeldy Akhmetlimov]

[Text] Almaty December 23 TASS—Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed a decree on Thursday simplifying the procedure for acquiring Kazakh citizenship.

The decree aims at strengthening historically established relations between citizens of the republics of the former Soviet Union. The document allows citizens of former Soviet republics who have close relatives—citizens of Kazakhstan—children (including adopted), wife and parents (including foster parents), sisters, brothers, grandfather and grandmother—to acquire Kazakh citizenship.

To acquire Kazakh citizenship, they have to file applications which will be subject to consideration within not later than six months of the day of application.

Previously, the Kazakh Constitution did not grant such rights, with the exception of cases envisaged by the Fundamental Law and interstate agreements concluded by the republic.

The decree has also halved the ten-year term of permanent residence required for acquiring citizenship of Kazakhstan by the categories of people who are not mentioned in the decree. The term within which the citizens of the republic have the right to file a written application to the local interior affairs body to state their unwillingness to retain Kazakh citizenship has been extended for another year to expire on 1 March, 1995.

The decree has the force of a law and shall be valid until respective amendments and additions are made to the republic Law on Citizenship by a new parliament of Kazakhstan, the elections for which are scheduled for 7 March 1994.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Holds News Conference on Results CIS Summit

LD2712153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayevev]

[Text] Bishkek December 27 TASS—"An amorphous alliance is turning into a working mechanism of mutually beneficial cooperation," President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan told a press conference here today summing up the results of the latest summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

According to Akayev, the December elections to the Federal Assembly in Russia made clear that "forces exist which favour the restoration of totalitarianism and the curbing of democratic reforms".

For this reason, the need to consolidate the Commonwealth is now clear to all the heads of the newly independent states. According to Akayev, this was confirmed by the admission of new member countries to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Akayev also told the press conference that the Commonwealth members states agreed to coordinate their pricing, taxation and customs policies within the frame of the economic union, which makes it possible to switch from bilateral to multilateral agreements.

Akayev said the agreement on collective security of the Commonwealth member-states has begun to acquire real mechanisms as well, which he described as yet another step towards the consolidation of the Commonwealth.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Turkey

LD2512170293 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] A large group from the agency for cooperation under the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by its chairman, has been on a working visit to Kyrgyzstan. The Turkish delegation was received by Kyrgyzstan Prime Minister Dzhumagulov.

According to the government press service, the subject of discussion was strengthening and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries. Turkish financial support was also discussed. The chairman of the agency emphasized during his meeting with the prime minister that Turkish entrepreneurs are

interested in developing small businesses, setting up processing works in Kyrgyzstan, and especially in creating free economic zones.

They also intend to reconstruct and technically reequip the state TV and radio company. It is expected that a contract on cooperation for the period of 10 years will be signed in the near future. In connection with this he urged the Government of Kyrgyzstan to examine the possibility of opening a Turkish bank in Kyrgyzstan. He stressed that this bank will be engaged in financing projects which will be approved by both sides.

In return Dzhumagulov warmly welcomed the initiatives which the Turkish side put forward and reassured them that the Kyrgyzstan Government, bankers, and state enterprises will support them. An agreement on cooperation was signed, and on 23 December an official opening of a mission of this agency took place. The ceremony was attended by Deputy Premier Osmon Ibraimov and the deputy chairman of the Zhogorku Kenesh.

Communist Leader Named Deputy Premier for Agriculture

PM2812123393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Communist Gets Down to Business"]

[Text] Dzhumgalbek Amanbayev, leader of the Kyrgyz Communist Party, has been appointed deputy prime minister responsible for agriculture. The new leader is already working actively—the programs for the development of stockraising and crop growing are being reviewed on his orders. Judging by everything, priority will be given to grain, sugar beets, and cotton. All these crops have been grown on Kyrgyz soil for many years and are capable of producing excellent yields with the help of modern agricultural practices.

Ministry Denies Hijack Leader Bishkek Resident

LD2812091693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0903 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayevev]

[Text] Bishkek December 28 TASS—Head of the gang of terrorists that kidnapped a group of pupils in Rostov-on-Don on December 23 said he was a resident of the

Kyrgyzstan capital. Officials of the Kyrgyzstan Ministry of the Interior stated he had not been registered as a resident of Bishkek. The same ministry stated that Arslan Kasimov, a Kyrgyz, born in 1945, has not been brought to court in Kyrgyzstan.

Uzbekistan

Parliament To Be Renamed Majlis; Speaker Resigns

LD2812112893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] A regular 14th session of the Uzbek Supreme Kengash of the 12th convocation has begun its work today; its agenda comprises about 30 draft laws. President Karimov made a report on the current situation. Then the deputies considered the draft law on the new parliament, Majlis, which is to replace the Supreme Kengash. The law was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes.

The session also considered an organizational question. Kengash Chairman Yuldashev has been relieved from his post in accordance with his request. The deputies appointed people's deputy Erkin Khalilov acting speaker until the election of the new parliament.

Khalilov is 38 years old. Before his election as the republic's people's deputy, he was head of department in the institute of philosophy.

Karimov Rejects Russian 'Demand' for Dual Citizenship

LD2812135293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev, reporting on the sitting of the Uzbek Supreme Kengash, says the session this morning included a report by President Islam Karimov in which he summed up the work of the parliament over the past four years: Stressing the importance of mutually advantageous cooperation with Russia, Karimov has rejected the Russian Government's demand that Uzbekistan should introduce dual citizenship, having described the demand as interference into republican internal affairs. Deputies unanimously passed a bill on elections to Oly Majlis, and the central electoral commission was formed. This is probably the last session for this composition of deputies. Now, according to amendments introduced into the Constitution of Uzbekistan today, a new parliament will have 250 deputies and there will be a five percent threshold, like in Russia. The Supreme Kengash session continues its work.

Armenia

Karabakh Lawmaker Says Aland Meetings Valuable

NC2712204593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1618 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 27 (SNARK)—Karen Baburyan, acting as a Head of the Karabakh Parliament, considers the meetings taken place at the Aland Islands, Finland, as fruitful. There participated the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Karabakh. From December 20 till December 23 there took place the symposium on the Aland self-government. The symposium was organized thanks to the initiatives of the CIS members Inter-Parliamentary Assembly.

Speaking to the SNARK's reporter Karen Baburyan said that the Aland experience is of great value. According to him, there are aspects of great importance, for example, the Aland Islands representation at the Northern States Council, the fact that the Aland Islands needs the reliable guarantor in League of Nations, the Aland Islands State Law accepted by the Parliament of Finland.

Using the Aland Islands experience Karabakh should take into consideration the today's reality. The reality is: Nagorno-Karabakh is the Republic with the corresponding state structures, including the military ones.

Speaking on the contacts between the Azerbaijani and Karabakh representatives, Karen Baburyan mentioned that the Baku envoys as well as the Stepanakert ones spoke for the peaceful solution of the Karabakh problem. But the latest offensive operations undertaken by the Azerbaijani Army in Karabakh show that Azerbaijan follows the opposite intentions, the Karabakh delegation head concluded.

Fighting, Casualties Reported on Front Lines

NC2712180893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Finding a peaceful solution to the dispute between the NKR and Azerbaijan has been impossible because of the irreconcilable approach maintained by that republic's leaders and reactionary forces. As has been the case, Azerbaijan continues to accuse Armenia of aggression. Its baseless accusations are aimed at creating the impression in the world that the confrontation is between Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, that republic's propaganda campaign has failed to achieve any results.

Azerbaijan's leaders have openly disclosed that they do not want a peaceful solution to the dispute. The Azerbaijan National Army [ANA] has attacked the NKR along all the battlefronts. Intensive combat operations have

taken place during the last two weeks. But even though the ANA employed large units to take the initiative in the fighting, it has failed to achieve a significant result. Furthermore, they suffered many casualties and lost several military vehicles as a result of the Armenian defense forces' counterattacks. Azerbaijan's units were forced to retreat. Regardless of the participation of thousands of mojahedin and other mercenary fighters in the military operations, the enemy side has suffered consecutive defeats. As usual, quoting the Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense press service, that republic's mass media bodies have boasted about the ANA units' success on the battlefronts and claimed that the Armenian side has suffered many casualties. The objective of this behavior is to strengthen the ANA's morale and divert the Azerbaijani people's attention from the gradually strengthening political and economic crisis in that republic.

Nevertheless, the number of Azerbaijan's casualties is gradually increasing. More than 600 of Azerbaijan's troops and mercenary fighters were killed during the past 10 days. The number of wounded Azerbaijani fighters is even greater. But the ANA units have maintained their attacks, regardless of their losses. The NKR Defense Army press service has reported that the NKR military units have counterattacked the enemy on all the battlefronts. They rebuffed 10 attacks by the ANA on 24 December. There were dead and wounded on both sides. Some 20 enemy troops and five NKR freedom fighters were killed that day.

A report we received a short while ago said that combat operations are continuing along the front lines.

The situation along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan continues to be tense, but there have been no serious incidents.

Further on Fighting

NC2712185093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry's press service reported that the Azerbaijani Army has violated the peace on Armenia's borders to prepare the ground for new military encroachments.

Thus, after a two-day cease-fire, the enemy resumed its aggressive operations with new intensity during the daytime on 25 December.

The defensive positions around Sevkar, Aygepar, and (Aygeolukh), in Idzhevskiy Rayon, were shelled by tanks, armored cars, and howitzers from 1415 to 1855. Paravakar, in Tavushskiy Rayon came under fire from all types of weapons from 1700 to 2300. The Armenian border guards did not retaliate. There were no casualties.

Disregarding the strictly maintained unilateral cease-fire by the Armenian Army, the enemy again opened artillery and tank fire on the defensive positions around Aygepar,

Artsuaberd, Tovuz, and Movses in Tavushskiy Rayon at 1630 on 26 December. Some people were injured.

The Azerbaijani Army units in Nakhichevan also went into action during the evening of the same day. They used artillery and large-caliber machine guns to open fire on Bardzravan, Shagad, and Arevik, in Sisianskiy Rayon, from 1600 to 2330. Armored cars and howitzers were used to pound the positions around Sevakavan in Araratskiy Rayon from 1720 to 2350. The Armenian border guards refrained from retaliating. There were no casualties.

According to preliminary reports received from the press service at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Defense Army headquarters, the situation continues to remain extremely tense along the Karabakh war fronts. Following a brief lull last night, the fighting has resumed all along the front.

Azerbaijanis Sustain 'Enormous Losses'

NC2712213993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Army subunits are incessantly launching attacks against the defensive positions of the Karabakh forces. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army's press service reported that the Azerbaijani Army units deployed north of Mardakertskiy Rayon launched an attack toward the southern regions of Talish after an intensive artillery barrage at 0900 on 26 December. A fierce battle took place, and the Karabakh forces eventually managed to halt all the enemy's attacks. According to preliminary reports, five fighters were killed and three were injured on the Karabakh side. Forty-seven soldiers were killed and one T-72 tank was destroyed on the Azerbaijani side. A group of Azerbaijani soldiers were taken prisoner.

The Azerbaijani Army launched an attack in the direction of Askeranskiy Rayon at noon the same day, but they suffered enormous losses in the mine fields and were forced to retreat.

According to the NKR Defense Army's press service, the Azerbaijani side resumed its offensive at 1000 this morning in the direction of Mardakertskiy, Gadrutskiy, and Martuninskiy Rayons. Fierce battles were continuing on these fronts at 1600.

Surrender of Agdam Heights Reported

NC2812110393 Paris AFP in English 1038 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, Dec 28 (AFP)—Armenian troops surrendered strategic heights Tuesday near the Azerbaijani city of Agdam east of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh as heavy fighting left high casualties on both sides, officials in Karabakh said.

The retreat from positions in the mountains around Agdam was the first notable setback for the Armenian

forces in Karabakh in nearly a year that has been marked by Armenian conquests both of the enclave and in much of western Azerbaijan.

Agdam, an Azerbaijani city outside of Karabakh, fell to Armenian forces in August.

A spokesman for the Karabakh Self-Defense Forces reached by telephone in Stepanakert said fierce fighting was also continuing further to the north and west in the region of Mardakert and added there were "numerous casualties" on both sides.

The spokesman claimed the Azerbaijani success in the Agdam region was due to help from Afghan mujahedin fighters and to new orders that frontline deserters be executed on the spot.

The Azerbaijani news agency TURAN meanwhile reported that four civilians were killed and several homes destroyed when Armenian troops shelled the villages of Terter and Talish in the Mardakert region.

The report, quoting informed sources in the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry, said fresh soldiers had been transferred from neighbouring Armenia to Karabakh to reinforce troop strength in the enclave.

Armenia has consistently denied giving any support to the ethnic Armenian fighters in Karabakh despite evidence to the contrary.

More than 15,000 people have been killed in nearly six years of fighting over Karabakh, an enclave that technically remains part of Azerbaijan but which is populated by Armenians who have claimed independence.

Spokesman on Energy Situation, Plane Crash

NC2712182793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] What is the government doing to improve the fuel and energy supply to the population? To find this out, our colleague Gevorg Nazaryan met the head of the government's press service, Vladimir Manoyan.

[Begin recording] [Nazaryan] During these cold days, the supply of energy is one of the problems perturbing the population. The planned four-hour supply of power is not being maintained.

[Manoyan] Yes, the plan is not being implemented because little power is being generated. The reason is that the gas pipeline was blown up in Georgia on 18 December. You all know about it; we released a report on it. It should have been repaired within a few days, but the repair work dragged on because the cranes there broke down.

When the repair work was done and gas valves were opened on 23 December, it was observed that gas was still not getting to Armenia. An inspection was then carried out along the pipeline in Armenia and Georgia. All was in order in Armenia, but when the Georgian gas

workers inspected their section of the line their car was damaged by a mine explosion. This incident occurred in an Azerbaijani-inhabited village. The Azerbaijanis then beat the workers and took them to Kazakh [in Azerbaijan]. Later, the Azerbaijani gas workers intervened and returned them to Georgia.

Now we are working to clear the pipeline of mines. It was also discovered that in the meantime a new explosion took place on the pipeline and the gas stopped entering the Republic. Therefore, after clearing the pipeline of mines, the workers must now start repair work. That is, the newly-bombed section has to be repaired. The repair work is being organized by the Georgian gas workers. We will see when it will be done. They gave no deadline for the completion of the repair work. It is complicated because the new explosion is near the previously bombed section, some 8 km toward Armenia near Marneul. That is, it is very close to the Azerbaijani border. Here the pipeline used to come into Armenia just touching Azerbaijan's border. We already moved the pipeline about 3 km away from the border. Had the pipeline remained there, it would have always been under Azerbaijani control and could have been blown up. Despite the move, they are still able to disrupt the repair work. This is the reason for the present interruption in the gas supply.

[Nazaryan] The new year is just around the corner. Are there plans to improve the power supply?

[Manoyan] Yes, there were plans to provide power nonstop for two days. However, because of the explosion on the pipeline, now only 24-hour nonstop power will be supplied starting on the evening of 31 December. The population will have 24-hour nonstop power. This will be the power generated by the hydroelectric plants. Additional diesel oil will be distributed to offset the lack of gas. There is no possibility of providing power any longer [words indistinct].

[Nazaryan] Mr. Manoyan, we learned about the plane crash in Gyumri. What can you tell us about it?

[Manoyan] Unfortunately, an accident involving flight 124 of a freight plane belonging to Krasnodar Aviation took place at 2055 on 26 December. It crashed while landing and a fire broke out. The five-man crew, who worked for Krasnodar Aviation, and 31 passengers, all Armenians from Gyumri and Akhalkalak [in Georgia], died. According to the preliminary reports, 31 persons died, but it is possible that the number could be higher. There was bad visibility and the dispatcher warned the crew about it, but they felt sure that they could land. The plane started landing and then at the last moment the crew wanted to climb again but could not and (?fell) [words indistinct]. A government commission has been set up under Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan. The commission has already left for the site to clarify details of the accident and draw a final conclusion on the cause.

The government has expressed condolences to the families of those killed in this exceedingly tragic incident.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh, Visit to France

NC2612085093 Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziya Television Network in Azeri 1630 GMT 22 Dec 93

["Text" of interview with President Geydar Aliyev by reporter Philippe Dessaint in Paris on 21 December; recorded with questions in French with passage-by-passage translation into Russian; translated from the superimposed Azeri translation]

[Text] [Dessaint] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Good evening, President Geydar Aliyev. You have arrived to sign an agreement of friendship and cooperation with France. We wish to discuss the situation in the former Soviet republics, particularly the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, where some 50 Armenians were killed in the clashes that took place yesterday. The clashes continued today. However, prior to discussing that, let us stress that the fighting in Bosnia has further intensified. Sarajevo was bombarded yesterday and today. There have been many casualties. A child was killed when a house was destroyed. Supplies to that city have been halted.

Mr. President, good evening once again. Thank you for accepting our invitation. I wish to recall that you are Azerbaijan's president. We shall talk about your country. Meanwhile, I wish to ask a wide-ranging question about instability in the eastern world. The communist bloc's disintegration has created a strong nationalist trend in Serbia and a significant anxiety in Romania. Compared with the communist era, will the present stage be worse?

[Aliyev] Of course, a complex situation existed during the communist era. However, many things will depend on the developments and the progress of the existing situation. Independent countries have emerged in the territory of the former Soviet Union, that is, after that union disintegrated. Significant changes have taken place since the communist bloc and the Warsaw Pact were disbanded. The changes have led to various developments. That state of affairs has made people's lives difficult at the present time.

[Dessaint] First, I would like to talk about Serbia. The former communists have become nationalists. Can you comment on the matter?

[Aliyev] You are aware that that state of affairs is not limited to Serbia. It has emerged in various parts of Europe. A wave of nationalism has emerged in many places. If someone is a former communist, than that should not be taken to mean that he cannot become a nationalist.

[Dessaint] You were a former communist yourself. Can you express your opinion on that matter?

[Aliyev] Yes, I am a former communist. However, I resigned from the CPSU before it disintegrated. I have not been a communist since 1991. I officially resigned from the CPSU. If communists are despised here and there, then an effort must be made to establish why they are so. The social and political situation was so complex that establishing what was real and what was unreal was difficult from time to time. Personally, I support democracy. And, without doubt, I do not support the restoration of the communist regime.

[Dessaint] Boris Yeltsin emerged as a weakened leader from the elections in Russia. Do you believe that he will be ousted or do you fear that he may resign?

[Aliyev] No, I do not fear that.

[Dessaint] Do you believe that Boris Yeltsin will be able to strengthen his position in power, regardless of the strengthening of the nationalist trend in Moscow?

[Aliyev] I am convinced that he has the means to convince the people to help him. Meanwhile, the Constitution he has proposed has been approved.

[Dessaint] Do you believe that closer relations should be established among the former Soviet republics? The Soviet Union existed in the past. The CIS exists at the present time. Is that enough? Have you any anxiety about the independence you have had during the past two years?

[Aliyev] No, I am not anxious regarding our independence. Azerbaijan maintains a steadfast stand on independence and it will safeguard it. Azerbaijan has recently become a CIS member. The CIS heads of state will meet in Ashgabat on 23 December. We will study the situation during that meeting. I am unable to see any need for an organization other than the CIS.

[Dessaint] Can you comment on your relations with Boris Yeltsin?

[Aliyev] We have favorable relations.

[Dessaint] Nevertheless, do you frequently contact each other?

[Aliyev] I have met him three times since I became Azerbaijan's president. I hope to meet him again in Ashgabat on 23 and 24 December.

[Dessaint] Mr. President, this is the first time you have left your country for a visit abroad. This is your first visit after the presidential elections in your country in October. You have chosen to visit France. Can you explain why? Have you arrived to seek political or economic aid?

[Aliyev] Yes, this is my first visit since I was elected president. I arrived at the invitation of President Mitterrand. I am very pleased with the progress and results of

my visit. We signed an agreement for friendship and cooperation between France and Azerbaijan yesterday. That agreement also covers cooperation in trade and economic and scientific fields. I am convinced that the establishment of close relations between young Azerbaijan and a great country like France is very important in the international domain.

[Dessaint] Which country do you expect support from—one in Europe, or France, or Russia? Which are the main countries you look to?

[Aliyev] As far as our foreign policy is concerned, we wish to establish close relations with all the countries in the world, particularly with the countries that can influence world politics. Undoubtedly, we also want to establish close relations with Azerbaijan's neighbors. Azerbaijan wishes to establish close relations with the United States, France, and Britain and with Russia and Turkey, with which our republic has common borders. Yes, our republic wishes to have close relations with those countries.

[Dessaint] The question that is asked when matters related to Azerbaijan, the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, and the Armenian enclave are discussed in the world is the cause of the problem. Thousands of people have been killed as a result of that dispute. Dozens of people have been killed this week. How will the problem be resolved—through diplomatic effort or war?

[Aliyev] Indeed, that is a very serious matter for Azerbaijan. I want to inform you that our territory is the victim of Armenia's military onslaught. The Armenian Armed Forces have occupied more than 20 percent of Azerbaijan's territory. I can show you on a map that all the territories around Nagorno-Karabakh have been occupied. Some 1,000,000 people have become refugees. Regardless of all that, we wish to have the military confrontation removed through peaceful talks and the mediation of international organizations and influential countries in the world.

[Dessaint] President Mitterrand has urged the two countries to hold peaceful talks. Can you lift your blockade against Armenia as the first step?

[Aliyev] I am fully aware of President Mitterrand's viewpoint. We share the same view. We are convinced that talks must be held to find a peaceful solution to the problem. However, you have asked about the blockade. It is Azerbaijan that has been blockaded. I have mentioned that 20 percent of our territory has been occupied. All our means of communication have been closed down. That has placed Azerbaijan under a blockade. The question of blockade is as serious for Azerbaijan as it is for Armenia. The military confrontation and aggression against Azerbaijan has to be halted before the question of blockade is resolved.

[Dessaint] Do you expect support from Moscow?

[Aliyev] I expect support from Moscow, Washington, Paris, and Ankara. I also expect support from the other countries.

[Dessaint] What is your republic's most pressing problem? You have disclosed that you wish to establish a secular state. Considering the fact that Azerbaijan has fundamentalist neighbors, will that be possible? For example, Iran is one of Azerbaijan's neighbors.

[Aliyev] No, I wish to categorically stress that Azerbaijan has taken steps toward democratic development. We wish to establish a developed and secular state. We wish to benefit from the experience gained in democracy in the world, particularly in the Western countries. Islamic fundamentalism cannot exist in Azerbaijan. The fear of the countries in the world that are not aware of the situation in Azerbaijan is unjustified.

[Dessaint] Undoubtedly, your country has rich potential. You have rich oil resources. Is Azerbaijan able to prospect for oil? Which country do you rely on in that field?

[Aliyev] Oil has been extracted in Azerbaijan for more than 150 years now. Our republic is able to extract its oil. Azerbaijan, which has adopted the market economy system, is prepared to establish mutually beneficial cooperation with developed countries, including the large oil companies in the United States and Britain. I held talks with the president of [name indistinct] company today. We discussed cooperation in that field. I am convinced that Azerbaijan and the countries that agree to make investments in our republic's oil industry stand to benefit from cooperation on oil.

[Dessaint] Do you regard the solution of the Karabakh dispute as having priority above everything else or do you believe that securing economic development is more important?

[Aliyev] The priority issue is to end the war. It is to end the Armenian side's aggression, halt Armenia's military occupation, resolve the Karabakh problem within Azerbaijan's framework, maintain the non-violability of borders, and safeguard the Republic's territorial integrity. Those are the main issues.

[Dessaint] Mr. Aliyev, thank you. We wish you a pleasant time in Paris. Thank you for accepting our invitation.

[Aliyev] I convey my best wishes to you. Meanwhile, I wish to thank President Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Juppe for the beneficial talks we have had. I salute the people of France and greet them on the occasion of Christmas. That applies to the French people and those who are not of French origin because this telecast will be received in a very large area.

Official Denies Armenian Claims on Offensive

LD2712174393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1439 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Excerpts] In recent days the Armenian media have been publishing reports alleging a broad offensive by Azerbaijani forces in the zone of the Karabakh conflict. Our Baku correspondent Islam Kuliyeu met Vafa Gulizade, state adviser of the Azerbaijan republic for foreign policy matters, and asked him about the true state of affairs. Here is a telephone recording of the interview:

[Begin Gulizade recording] I want to refute this at once. It is an outright lie, devoid of any foundation. I would recall the May statements by the Armenian Foreign Ministry and its letters to the United Nations speaking of Azerbaijan having embarked on a broad offensive. Each of those statements was followed by fresh grabs for territory and the escalation of activities by Armenian armed forces. [passage omitted]

In the current situation it seems that where defending the people of Azerbaijan is concerned, there is a feeling around that they should not actually be defended too much. In recent days there have been fierce attacks by Armenian armed formations around Beylagan and around Terter, which has been subjected to Armenian shelling. Then there has been a concentration of troops in the Kazakh area and the non-stop shelling of Azerbaijani villages and the town of Kazakh itself from Armenian territory. That is how things really are.

I should also like to comment on the statement made by Mr. Ter-Petrosyan alleging that some Afghan mujahedin forces have been involved on the Azerbaijani side. This comes at a time when there are mercenaries from various European countries and from the Near East fighting on the Armenian side—and there have been repeated proofs of this.

This very day the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on this, saying that the purpose of such statements from the Armenian side is to cover up, by manipulating facts, its own aggressive plans in relation to a number of parts of Azerbaijan lying along its common border with Armenia and also some around Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh region. [end recording]

Opposition Leader Calls for Pro-Western Course

MK2412172093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed NEGA report in the "Azerbaijan" column]

[Text] Musavat party leader Isa Gambar, addressing a press conference at the headquarters of this public and political organization, said that he considers illegal the results of the 29 July referendum on confidence in Abulfaz Elchibey. In his opinion, the People's Front of Azerbaijan and the Musavat party are acting in the national interests. The republic, Isa Gambar said, "needs

to orient itself toward the West since Eastern countries with a pro-Western orientation have accomplished greater achievements in their development." According to Isa Gambar, the investigation into the events in Gyandzha (3 and 4 June 1993), in which he is one of the co-defendants, is practically at a standstill. He went on to say that the prosecutors themselves admit to the futility of this case.

Touching on a recent meeting between Azerbaijan President Geydar Aliyev and leaders of opposition parties, Isa Gambar said that Musavat will take part in the work of the Consultative Council on the Settlement of the Karabakh Conflict (the council was established at the same meeting). In Gambar's opinion, the professional level of Geydar Aliyev's team "does not correspond to the demands of the time, and the government's approach to economic problems is not serious enough."

'Boz Gurd' Party Holds First Conference

NC2712141193 Baku TURAN in English 1243 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 27 (TURAN)—Yesterday the first ever conference of Boz Gurd Party (Grey Wolves), which used to be a movement, took place.

The conference adopted a program and Charter for the party. The party builds its program in accordance with that Azerbaijan has entered a period of construction and development under circumstances of conflict between geopolitical expansionist interests of the great powers. The aim of the party is to build a democratic and free national state. The party assumes the responsibility of guarantor of security of the nation under conditions of its growth within the framework of its historical borders. The party opposes any form of dictatorship, violence, and violation of human right and lauds a cultural and spiritual renaissance of the nation.

Where national and territorial security are concerned, Boz Gurd will, within the framework of the international norms, will struggle for the return of historical Azeri territories that had been granted to other nations by the Russian empire. The main goal of the future is the liberation of Armenian-occupied territories.

The party calls for a complete and rapid conversion to a market economy with different forms of property.

In the article on national policy, the party's Charter calls requires that the party respect the rights, national feelings, and religious views of all nations, which do not pose a threat to the Azerbaijani state.

As for the main goals in foreign policy, the Boz Gurd seeks to strengthen Azerbaijan's position in the international community.

The party respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and comes out for the development of bilateral, mutually beneficial relations with other states. In particular, relations with other Turkic states are

stressed. The Boz Gurd party intends to assist Turkic nations in the struggle towards independence.

According to the Charter of the party, both the citizens of Azerbaijan, as well as Azeris living abroad may be members. The membership may be of an individual or collective nature. Joining and leaving the party may be done at free will. The party relies on donations by members of the party, staff, and other private citizens. The members of the party will also be required to carry out its Charter's decrees.

The party structures its activities according to the territorial-administrative divisions of Azerbaijan. That is, village and city entities consisting of not less than 10 members. The departments are united into regional and city branches. The highest supreme body of the divisions consist of conferences which will be held not less than once a year. The departments, created abroad are called affiliates or branches.

The supreme body of the party is the congress. It is summoned once in three years. The urgent congress may be summoned on the demand of chairman, as well as the more than half of the members of the party. The congress elects a chairman of the party and its supreme bodies-political bureau [11 people], control revision committee. Political bureau headed by the chairman guides the party during the period between the two congresses, the chairman represents the party and shoulders the responsibility before the party. The organ of the party is BOZ GURD newspaper.

The head of Boz Gurd movement Iskander Hamidov refused to become a chairman of the party at the conference. Prof. of history Bahdiyar Ahmedov is elected the chairman. As Hamidov said, he is elected a coordinator of the world-wide Boz Gurd organization.

The party announced itself to be the collective member of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

The conference itself to be the collective member of the Popular [People's] Front of Azerbaijan.

The conference came out with a statement, declaring itself the opposition to the present leadership of the country. The statement runs, that corruption and giving high offices to relatives and friends became the scourge of Azerbaijan. The conference qualified Azerbaijan's joining the CIS negatively.

Professor Elected Chairman

NC2712143993 Baku TURAN in English 1243 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 27 (TURAN)—At the recent founders' conference of the Boz Gurd Party, Bahdiyar Ahmedov, a professor of history from the Baku University, was elected chairman of the party yesterday.

He was born in 1936 in the village of Govlar in the Tazskiy region in the western part of the country, he

graduated from the faculty of history of the Azerbaijan State University. He is a doctor of history, is married and has four children.

I joined the democratic movement five years ago at its very inception, Ahmedov said. Many of my [as received] who have been taught the Turkic traditions by myself are among the members of the party.

The professor believes that Abulfaz Elchibey and Iskander Hamidov are the most respectable politicians of Azerbaijan.

After Iskander Hamidov's resignation from the post of minister of interior, I became his close confidant and supporter in the Boz Gurd movement.

The theme of his masters' dissertation was Azeri-British relations in the 16th century. It dealt with the policy of England in the East during the first half of the 17th century (the beginning of England's colonial policy) the slogan of Bahdiyev Akhmedov is - children must take care [sentence incomplete as received]

Georgia

Ministry Cooperation Protocol Signed With Russia

LD2712141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1158 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By GIA correspondent for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Dec—Georgian Foreign Affairs Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze and Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Russia, signed a protocol in Tbilisi today on cooperation between the Foreign Affairs Ministries of the two countries. A meeting then took place behind closed doors between Eduard Shevardnadze and Anatoliy Adamishin.

In the opinion of Vladimir Zemskiy, Russian ambassador to Georgia, the document which was signed today will promote the progress of interstate relations between Russia and Georgia and will make them more dynamic.

Adamishin Comments

LD2712194193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Report from Tbilisi by correspondent G. Ratishvili, including recording of remarks by Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Ratishvili] A delegation of Russia's Foreign Ministry led by Anatoliy Adamishin, the first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, has arrived in Tbilisi on a working visit. This morning the delegation had a meeting with Colonel General Reut, commander of the group of Russian troops in the Transcaucasus. The discussion focused on issues relating to the status of the

group of Russian troops stationed in Georgia under an intergovernmental agreement, as well as on possible transition to the system of basing troops.

After that, Anatoliy Adamishin and Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze signed a protocol of mutual understanding between the foreign ministries of Russia and Georgia. Thus the relations between the two countries at foreign ministry level have been given an appropriate legal form.

Anatoliy Adamishin then had a tete-a-tete talk with Georgian Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze. After this, the first deputy foreign minister of Russia said:

[Adamishin] Our standpoint is this: The territorial integrity of Georgia must be preserved. Neither Abkhazia nor South Ossetia can be entities independent of Georgia. Their status, that is, the conditions of their existence within the unified Georgian state, should be defined jointly.

Chikvaidze on 'Great Agreement'

NC2712203993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1615 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, December 27. (SNARK)—"The Protocol between the foreign departments of Russia and Georgia concluded on December 27, 1993, is the prelude to the great agreement conclusion between two states," Aleksandr Chikvaidze, Georgian Foreign Affairs Minister, told SNARK. Commenting on the results of the Russian official delegation's visit to Georgia Chikvaidze mentioned they are fruitful.

Russian delegation headed by Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy of the Russian Foreign Affairs Minister, met with Eduard Shevardnadze, a Head of the Georgian state, and Aleksandr Chikvaidze, Georgian Foreign Affairs Minister. There were discussed the problems of the Georgian-Abkhazian relations and the results of the Ashgabat summit. The sides came to an agreement on the refugees coming back to Abkhazia.

Mr. Adamishin told SNARK the Tbilisi meetings were of the constructive character. There were discussed the problems of enlarging the bilateral political cooperation, prepared the set of economic agreements which should be concluded in the nearest future. Speaking on the Russian troops status in Georgia Anatoliy Adamishin said that there exists the military doctrine which follows the rule: the Russian troops existence abroad might be only in the extraordinary cases. Russian Army shouldn't undertake the functions of police. Now we're discussing the idea of our troops existence on the territory of Georgia—in Batumi, Poti, Akhalkalaki. But there isn't yet the constructive decision of the problem.

South Ossetia Constitution Upholds Sovereignty

LD2312202993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia (since 1991, a self-proclaimed republic on the territory of Georgia)

has adopted a constitution, under which the republic is declared an equal sovereign subject to international law. This was announced in an interview with Interfax on Thursday by Lyudwig Chibirov, the Supreme Soviet's Chairman.

Constitutional Article 57 says that the Republic of South Ossetia comprises four regions - Tshinvali, Znauri, Javi, and Leningori. However, in his words, part of the Leningori and Javi regions were made part of Georgia by force.

"The Ossetian side intends to negotiate with Georgia on how South Ossetia could be restored in its 1990 borders," Chibirov remarked.

Asked by Interfax about a possible escalation in hostilities between Ossetia and Georgia, Chibirov voiced his republic's desire to refrain from force as much as possible.

Deputy Premier To Coordinate S. Ossetia Affairs

LD2812115293 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1100 GMT
28 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Dec—IBERIA reports that Georgian Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze has issued a resolution entrusting Deputy Prime Minister Irakli Menagharishvili with coordinating Tskhinvali region [South Ossetia] affairs.

Shevardnadze Discusses CIS, Russia, Other Issues

LD2712142193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in
Georgian 0655 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Weekly interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by Nato Oniani in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] [Oniani] We present the regular interview with the chairman of the parliament of the republic, Eduard Shevardnadze. Batono [honorific title] Eduard, the Ashgabat meeting of the heads and government of the CIS member states was last week's important event. When assessing the results of the meeting in a television interview, you repeated twice, convincingly: I believe the decision to join the CIS was correct and that its revision is not necessary.

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. Thank you. I have already expressed my general observation on the Ashgabat meeting. I shall confirm what I have said: that it was an important stage in the life of the CIS, which has existed only for two years, and from the point of view of unanimity and mutual understanding. This meeting stood out from other meetings—although I was not present at other meetings, judging from the information I had, I can say so convincingly. Now about some of the conclusions which I [word indistinct] after I got back. Does the CIS have a future? Does it have prospects? Is it viable? I shall touch only on some of the general principles.

In my opinion, the CIS will have a future and be formed as an organism of trust and cooperation if Russia will, as

today, continue to follow the path of democracy and compromise. And still, the center of the CIS, the key magnetic pole and the initiator of the CIS is Russia, and the fate of the CIS' future will depend on Russia and the processes under way in Russia. If it does not happen this way, that is if Russia does not follow the path of democracy, then, of course, the CIS will disintegrate.

I would also like to stress another point, that the CIS in itself becomes one of the factors for the democratic development in its member countries as well as in Russia. I have drawn such a conclusion from my own observations and the talks I have had; there are prospects that the CIS could become one of the factors and a major contributor to the democratic development of these countries.

Third, the CIS will be viable if in practical terms it resists the aggressive separatism and becomes in practical terms a solid guarantor of the territorial integrity of the CIS states.

By the way, I have had contacts with the leaders of the CIS countries before, but it was now for the first time that the leaders of the countries voiced alarm over separatist movements. You remember, we have said many times...

[Oniani, interrupting] Since the first days of the war in Abkhazia.

[Shevardnadze] Before that too, and when I made a speech at the United Nations last year, when I said that the aggressive separatism was the greatest danger to our planet. I thought so then and still do. It has shaped out very clearly. Every CIS member desires that this organization become one of the guarantors of territorial integrity and for defeating aggressive separatism.

And one more thing—the CIS must become a necessary organization and organism for everybody if it becomes the guarantor of the integration of its member states' economy. None of the countries will be able to overcome the deep economic crisis without such integration; I am strongly convinced of this. They will not be able to create a market economy, the principles of the economy; they will not be able to resolve social problems and if they cannot resolve social problems then, naturally, social outbursts can always be expected which may become more dangerous than the separatist movement if the countries fail to find a solution.

At the present level, social issues are the most palpable and the most acute and I think that within the limits of the CIS, it is quite possible to resolve many social issues on the basis of the development of the processes of integration.

These are the points I wanted to share with our radio listeners and share my impressions.

There are some other reasons [for joining the CIS], which is why I said that our decision to join the CIS was correct and does not need to be revised, does not require it. By

the way, I quoted one of the factors, the document which I signed, that the CIS, and in particular collective security—the principles of collective security and the agreement on collective security, the mechanisms of which we have enacted recently—says that the mechanism is one of the key guarantors of the territorial integrity and stability in these countries.

[Oniani] You said that unless Russia pursues the path of democratic development, the Commonwealth will disintegrate. Will it disintegrate and the empire be restored? Is this what you mean?

[Shevardnadze] No, the empire will not be restored. If the Commonwealth disintegrates, each country will go its own way. More emphasis will probably be shifted toward regional unions, for example, a union of Central Asia, of the Caucasus, or of some other region. And then, the Commonwealth, as we know it now, will disintegrate.

[Oniani] Thank you. You met with President Yeltsin in Ashgabat and I would like to quote an excerpt from your interview. You said there: As for Abkhazia, I think that now the Russian president fully understands how acute this problem is for us, the Caucasus and Russia.

A Russian Foreign Ministry delegation arrived in Tbilisi yesterday. Among other issues, you will probably also discuss with them the issue of Abkhazia. The recent elections in Russia produced both positive and negative results. By positive results I mean that the Ardzinba-Gamsakhurdia-Zhirinovskiy clan has been exposed and both Russia and the world saw the real threat of fascism. And by negative results I mean the heavy vote for Zhirinovskiy. What are the chances for solving the problem of Abkhazia? And also, does the strengthening of relations between Georgia and Russia coincide with Georgia's entry into the CIS?

[Shevardnadze] I have already spoken about my impressions of my meeting with Yeltsin. A delegation arrived here yesterday. It includes reputable diplomats, as well as the military. My colleagues and I had our first meeting with them yesterday. Of course, there are two problems of ours which are central to relations between Russia and Georgia. These are Abkhazia and Samachablo, [or] the Tskhinvali zone and South Ossetia [word indistinct]. This is not only our problem, but my impression is that this is also, in a certain sense and to some extent, Russia's problem. Therefore, Abkhazia and Samachablo are a touchstone which will test the firmness of our ties.

I do not mean that the issue of Abkhazia should be solved by taking only Georgian interests into account. Both issues, Abkhazia and Samachablo, should be solved by taking into account the interests of all citizens, including, of course, the interests of the Abkhazians. Despite the disaster which unfolded there and the fact that almost all the Georgian population was displaced, I nevertheless believe that there are now better prospects for a settlement than at any other time. This is because, according to my observation, Russia now better understands the danger for Georgia, the Transcaucasus, and

the Caucasus region in general, including Russia, of leaving this conflict unresolved.

I would like to say that both the discussion with Yeltsin and yesterday's meeting are promising. It is very important that all of us agree that the first and foremost task today is to ensure a return of refugees and their security. If it remains the most important task and if we succeed in creating security guarantees, we can say with confidence that the issue of Abkhazia will be resolved in the near future and the conflict in Abkhazia will be settled as was the conflict in Samachablo.

I do not want now to say much about the election results in Russia. A lot has been written and said about this. I know that this remains the main subject for examination among world analysts. I said once that it was not a surprise. I repeat it now—it was not a surprise. This is what was expected. My observation is that a promising and important process is starting within Russian society. This is the process of sobering-up. A force which is rather dangerous for Russia and the world proved capable of sneaking onto the arena. I think Russia is analyzing this, and that appropriate conclusions will be drawn.

[Oniani] An absurd incident took place at the airport last week [when Defense Minister Karkarashvili and Security Minister Giorgadze quarreled]. Then there was an explosion at a security service building. It is difficult to say who caused the explosion until the investigation has been completed.

The public is confused by the mutual accusations between the Security and Defense Ministries expressed in their respective statements. It is especially unfortunate that the argument involves the leaders of so-called power structures, who should be struggling for the security of the people and the country.

[Shevardnadze] I do not want to talk about my personal emotions in this regard; this may be not so important. I would not like to draw any hasty conclusions either. Yesterday, or rather the day before yesterday, I wrote and issued an edict setting up a commission headed by Prime Minister Batono Otari Patsatsia. The commission is to conduct an in-depth study of this. It is true that such incidents should not happen in our country. However, the commission must submit its findings as to why and how this happened and what should be the head of state's decision. It will decide.

[Oniani] Apart from this incident, last week was marked by the deterioration of the crime situation. Our listeners probably remember [Deputy Prime Minister] Avtandil Margiani's recent address and a later interview with [Tbilisi police chief] Davit Zeikidze. Yesterday Davit Zeikidze appeared on television again. Thus, it has now been said on our television three times that they believe we will not be able to establish order with our own forces and that this problem should be solved with Russian assistance. The intention is probably to invite troops

from Russia, or to use Russian troops based here. They did not explain how it should happen. What is your position about it?

[Shevardnadze] I do not believe we are such a weak and powerless country that troops from a foreign country should be deployed here to establish order. When we were in trouble, we decided to take appropriate measures by inviting marines into Poti and setting up several checkpoints in western Georgian rayons which were manned by groups from the Batumi Division to ensure the functioning of the railway. We decided to do this, but this was a temporary measure. The marines have left and the checkpoints have been removed, so that, for better or worse, the Georgian police are enforcing order in Poti, Senaki, and other rayons.

I firmly believe that if Mr. Zeikidze and others perform their duties properly, the available forces will be quite enough. About 3,000 or 4,000 people work in the [Tbilisi] city police. They include both veteran and novice officials. Virtually the entire city and the public are supporting the police. We lack stability and the ability to mobilize. But I think conclusions will be drawn early in the new year, so that we will not have to rely on some force entering and establishing order here. I do not believe this is necessary.

[Oniani] You visited the aviation factory yesterday and were present at the test of a new Yak-58 passenger plane which has been constructed here. Since all these negative events have taken place of late in our country, it gives us a possibility to have confidence in our own abilities that we, too, can produce something and that such an important step can be taken, besides the fact that it will bring economic gain and give us export possibilities.

[Shevardnadze] My visit yesterday, those several hours I spent among the factory's employees were some of the happiest moments I have had since my arrival in Tbilisi.

I said yesterday that it was a symbolic event, but it was not only symbolic. It shows that there is a serious potential among us, there is an engineering capability, there are people of high professionalism, workers, experts, constructors. Yesterday's event once again assured everybody of the importance of the process of integration. No airplane could have been created, let alone tested, if it had not been for the links still remaining between our factory and Russia's construction organizations and factories. In my opinion, this should be taken into consideration and it is good news. It is good news.

This is what I felt yesterday: the patience of workers and engineers, their ability to create, build, reason, and act are qualities that are not, I think, specifically confined within this factory; they exist elsewhere also.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, last week marked the second anniversary of the events which were called the Tbilisi war and which started on 22 December. Two years ago you described this event, if I am not mistaken, as a

popular uprising. Now that two years have passed, what do you think it was—a putsch, a coup d'etat, a military coup, a democratic revolution, a popular uprising, or something else? Assessments about this event still remain different and conflicting.

[Shevardnadze] You have mentioned my first assessment. As for my further observations, I think 22 December was the beginning of the defeat and downfall of provincial fascism. I know that many will disagree with this expression. I have used it before but I still think it is the right assessment. It was a people's revolt against provincial fascism, a movement of the best part of society, of the military as well. They were not the only ones involved—the intelligentsia, young people, representatives of culture, workers, [word indistinct], citizens, Georgia's citizens who were exasperated by the phenomenon called provincial fascism.

This process started then, but it did not end with just a single demonstration. This process turned out to be longer lasting. I would say that had it not been for Georgian-Abkhaz fascism, Georgia would have been on a different level. We would have been on a completely different level. Georgia would have been a different country, and its standard of life and living conditions would have been completely different.

Therefore, what was started on 22 December was an historic event, and, as I have told you, it has taken two years to achieve a definite change, and there still is a lot to be done. This is how I assess it.

[Oniani] Quite an important event took place in Russia last week: Aleksandr Yakovlev, a famous politician, was appointed chief of Ostankino. He is connected with past years; he was at the helm of perestroika beside you and Gorbachev. What do you think, on the basis of the latest political events in Russia? Is this appointment a chance event or is it something to be expected, and to what degree will it help change Russian information policy? [Shevardnadze] Aleksandr Yakovlev is one of the famous leaders and authors of perestroika and democracy. Yeltsin said in Ashgabat that the television director or leader, I do not know exactly what he is called now, will be subordinate to him. Yakovlev will have to deal solely with him. It will not be an ordinary department, but will be directly connected with the president.

I can see that this was a reaction from Yeltsin's part. Yeltsin's step was kind of compensatory [word indistinct] for what happened in Russia and caused so much alarm, not only among the Russian public but around the whole world. This is one aspect of the issue, but I think it was a right choice and move, and a justifiable one. Second, it is very important to remember that television is becoming the most important factor for democratic changes in Russia and, of course, Georgia. This is the conclusion which we must make for ourselves too.

[Oniani] Thank you. Last week, 21 December, was Iosif Stalin's birthday. We know that the population of Gori—Stalin's home town—specially celebrated the

date. Stalin was not a man of little consequence; he is still a center of attention and will continue to be so for a long time. From today's point of view, do you think Stalin was a great politician or, as they say, a great adventurer?

[Shevardnadze] I must complain to my radio listeners that you are interrogating me. [laughs]

[Oniani] [words indistinct, laughter]

[Shevardnadze] I have said many times that the Stalin phenomenon is an extraordinary one and that it is the duty of the present and future generations to study this phenomenon.

However good or bad this phenomenon may be, it is an event, the greatest event in world history. It would not be bad thing for such a center to be set up in Gori. Something of the sort has already been started at the basis of the [Stalin] museum. We must not forget that history lessons are the lessons of life, and that history lessons make sense when they are useful for life. Every lesson is necessary for history, for people, and for mankind.

What Stalin was is a subject for a separate conversation. It is a bit difficult to sum him up in a few words, but I would say that he was one of the biggest dictators in world history with all the ensuing consequences. Much has been written about the negative results of the dictatorship. It is not worth talking about this now, because we all know about it. All democratic citizens in the former Soviet Union, and not only there, everybody, helped considerably to destroy this amazing totalitarian machine which he created and could only be destroyed from within. But that is not what I want to talk about.

It is important and necessary to study the Stalin phenomenon in order to defeat and destroy fascism as a phenomenon. We have had a miniature manifestation of fascism in Georgia and have seen what it is like in reality. It is indeed connected with Stalin, and mankind must not forget about it, and neither must Georgians. I know there are many people in Georgia who support the celebration in Gori. Any such celebration must be objective; it must not be done to venerate or praise Stalin, but must give people some idea of what he was, what kind of phenomenon it was.

[Oniani] Finally, in just a few days we will be seeing in the new year. What do you think are the most important results of the current year and how would you describe it in general?

[Shevardnadze] I will probably have an opportunity before the end of the year to speak about negative results. I would like to point out one positive result. In my opinion, the most important result of this year was the beginning of the process of Georgia becoming a single entity [gamtlianeba], the real beginning of the process. This is laying the foundation of a single Georgia. It

happened against the background of events and cataclysms which posed a real threat of Georgia's fragmentation. In fact, Georgia was fragmented. The main element in this process was Samegrelo. Though I have stressed this more than once, I would like to repeat it now—that an event of the utmost importance took place. After a lot of suffering, Samegrelo was delivered of its terrible burden. I would single out this event, this link in the chain of events.

[Oniani] Thank you very much.

Shevardnadze Sets Deadline for Energy Program

LD2512174293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 93

[Decree issued by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze in Tbilisi on 20 December]

[Text] The complex situation in the fuel and energy complex of Georgia makes it necessary to draft a scientifically substantiated long-term state program for developing this extremely important branch of the country's industry that will reflect the realities existing within the country and beyond. Taking this into account, I decree:

a) to draft a long-term program for developing the fuel and energy complex of Georgia;

b) to establish a commission to draft the long-term program for developing the fuel and energy program of Georgia, which will include Deputy Prime Minister Zurab Kervalishvili, the commission chairman; Revaz Arveladze, director of the Georgian Research Institute of Power Engineering and Hydrotechnical Installations; Kvantiko Tordia, a chief state adviser at the office of the head of state; Guram Mirianashvili, the chairman of the Construction and Architecture Committee of Georgia; Iver Prangishvili, vice president of the Georgian Academy of Sciences; Amiran Khetsuriani, a chief state adviser at the office of the head of state; Tamaz Janiellidze, vice president of the Georgian Engineering Academy; and Levan Japaridze, the chairman of the Science and Technology Committee of Georgia;

c) the Science of Technology Committee of Georgia will provide the overall coordination of the program drafting;

d) the Science of Technology Committee will submit to the commission for approval the composition of an export council [saeksporto sabcho].

It must be noted that the republic's Engineering Academy, Academy of Sciences, ministries, and agencies have already carried out a considerable amount of work and research which can serve as the foundation of the state program.

The republic's ministries and agencies are to provide all-round assistance and support for the commission and the export council in obtaining the documents which are necessary to draft the program.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Georgia is given the deadline of February 1994 to submit the long-term state program for developing the fuel and energy complex of Georgia.

[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze
[Dated] 20 December 1993

Regional Armed Units Engaged To Fight Terrorists
*LD2712141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1342
GMT 27 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Djibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—Regional armed units are being engaged to fight terrorists in Georgia, an

official from the Georgian Interior Ministry told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Monday [27 December].

The units were created by a decree of Eduard Shevardnadze and will help local law enforcement bodies to disarm illegal armed groups and to carry out operations against criminal gangs and mafia clans on the territory of the republic.

TASS learnt from a source in the headquarters resolving emergency situations in western Georgia that for the last week only police had halted activities of four big armed gangs which had been for a long time attacking local residents, policemen and administrators.

Estonia

Meri Claims IZVESTIYA Misrepresented Comments

LD2312123593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0700 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] (?Today's) PAEVALEHT has published President Meri's statement, issued last night, in which Meri comments on the two articles about Estonia that appeared in yesterday's IZVESTIYA, a leading Russian newspaper. The first of the articles is titled: Estonian President Lennart Meri—I Regret Our Treating the Russians so Well. It has been credited to Lord Bethell, leader of the European Parliament's national party delegation [as heard], who visited the Estonian president in November. The other article comes from the newspaper's editor in chief, Leonid Mlechin, and is titled "Tallinn's Foolish Policy Could Transform Estonia into the Provinces of Estland and Livland."

The second article is set out to explain the first. Its title originates from Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's foreign policy arsenal, notes Meri. Lord Bethell's article was published in THE TIMES newspaper of 30 November. President Meri regrets Bethell's arbitrary interpretation in IZVESTIYA and has produced examples of outright muddling and distortion of facts. The sentence used by IZVESTIYA as the title for its piece reads in full as follows—I quote: I have no particular reason to love Russians but each time Ambassador Trofimov comes for a visit he brings me a translation of Chekhov or Pushkin. This warms my heart. End of quote.

Meri says that (?editing) the original text, arbitrary abridgement, and laying an emphasis on fragments of sentences extracted out of context come from the sphere of propaganda wars. At the same time, the president raises the question of in whose interests it is to aim the propaganda (?machine-gun) at Estonian-Russian relations and the Estonian president, and at a time when a new parliament, multihued in composition, will assemble in Russia next month for its first session. Also, a NATO summit will take place in January in Copenhagen, and a security vacuum has developed in the Baltic countries. Lennart Meri, too, fails to answer the question as to who called the tune, and this is how he has titled his article.

Minister Criticizes Russian Border Proposal

WS2712152493 Tallinn BNS in English 1006 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 27, BNS - Estonian Population Minister Peeter Olesk thinks that the Russia-proposed moratorium on discussion of the Estonian-Russian border issue should be rejected.

In an interview he gave the Russian language "ESTONIA" newspaper he described that proposal as "unreasonable and imposing."

He said that the situation in some border areas was absurd. In particular, one cannot reach the community of Saatsse from neighboring Varska without crossing Russian areas and entering associated border and other formalities.

Estonia regards those areas as its own by the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920 while Russia sticks to the post-war border which is cutting the small indigenous ethnic group of Setu into two.

"Setus have never been worse off in their history," the minister said.

Unless this issue is resolved, the area could be abandoned by the local population. It will take time and talks, not a moratorium, to have the issue resolved, Peeter Olesk thinks.

The minister also calls for setting up a procedure of keeping the record of people coming to and leaving Estonia and issuing them documents that would be recognized in Estonia, Russia and internationally. In this light he emphasized the need to ratify agreements on mutual migration and recognition of length of employment by the two countries.

Ex-Communists To Defend Party's Property Rights

WS2312120793 Tallinn BNS in English 1620 GMT 22 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 22, BNS—The council of the Estonian Democratic Labor Party [EDLP] decided at today's session to defend "with all legal means" the rights of the party, which is a legal successor of the Communist Party of Estonia. The decision stems from the party's concern over the status of its building in Tallinn.

The government ruled at the end of last month to hand the building over to the state chancellery and appointed the Justice Ministry as its administrator. Under the decision, the ex-communists must hand over the house by Dec. 24.

The EDLP does not agree with the Cabinet ruling.

Hillar Eller, the party's general secretary, stated that, under the Constitution, property is sacred and inviolable, and it can be expropriated only through procedures stipulated by the law.

"The EDLP is a legal successor of the CPE [Communist Party of Estonia] and therefore the owner of this building," Eller claimed. "We question the correctness of the Cabinet ruling."

A government decree passed in October 1991 allowed the independent CPE to continue using the building in question. It was one of the few houses left in the hands of the party after Estonia regained independence. The building of the CPE Central Committee was taken over by the Foreign Ministry, the Customs Department and a

number of embassies. The real estate the CPE had acquired over 50 years of Soviet power was nationalized.

Eller stated the EDLP doesn't intend to conclude a lease with the building's new administrator.

"An owner doesn't pay rent," he said. "If the Justice Ministry wants to rent some rooms in our building, we are prepared to negotiate."

The EDLP plans to propose an out-of-court settlement of the building's status.

"It would be less painful, since going to law takes time and gets on both parties' nerves," Eller told BNS. "We asked the government to explain the legal basis of its ruling."

"We shall know how to proceed when we get the answer."

Eller hinted that the EDLP may take the case to court if other options fail.

The EDLP formed a joint-stock company to administer the building.

The government maintains, however, that communists were two years ago given only the right to use the building, but that they don't own it. The Cabinet regards it as state property.

Latvia

Official Responds to Russian Statement on Nationalism

LD2712163393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] On 23 December, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a new statement which criticized Latvia's nationalist trend in internal policy. Specific reproach is expressed this time in connection with a draft law on elections to local governments, passed by the Saeima in the second reading.

The draft law provides that only Latvian citizens of age are able to take part in the elections and only those Latvian citizens who are able to produce some document proving their command of the state language are able to run for election.

The Russian Foreign Ministry's statement says that everything possible should be done before it is too late to prevent aggressive nationalism, which is dangerous to Europe and about which Russia has already warned more than once, from flourishing in all its glory in the Baltics.

It is stressed in the Russian Foreign Ministry statement that noncitizens of the Republic of Latvia are deprived of not only passive but also active suffrage. The state

leadership is introducing a language barrier even for those non-Latvians who are citizens of the Republic of Latvia.

Today our colleague asked Aleksandrs Kirssteins, chairman of the Saeima Foreign Affairs Commission, for his opinion about the statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Begin Kirssteins recording] I do not know what new proposals will be put forward by the Russian side in talks with Latvia on troop withdrawal, but taking into account the situation which has evolved as a result of Russia's elections and the correlation of forces in Russia's next legislative body, in the Duma and in the Federation Council, I allow the possibility—I only allow such a possibility because I have no proof—that a certain shift will probably occur as regards priorities concerning Russia's foreign policy and the Baltic states.

And here, because the Russian side has not managed to achieve the results which it wished in connection with the facility at Skrunda, and maybe some other facilities as well, there is evidently some pressure from the Russian military command and I think these statements are some sort of preparation of public opinion in Europe and the world for the fact that the troops will not be withdrawn from the Baltic states, or specifically from Latvia, or some kind of explanation will be given as to why the troops are not withdrawn regardless of the fact that there are relevant CSCE declarations and UN resolutions to the effect that these troops should be withdrawn according to the timescale and agreement which have been coordinated.

And I also allow an idea that certain preparations are being made to exert pressure in relation to either the Skrunda facility or something of the kind, but we will know that in January.

As for local elections, it is true that people who are not citizens or even those who are citizens and who should know the Latvian language but do not know it have neither active nor passive suffrage in the elections to local councils, but that is an entirely Latvian internal matter. We need neither Russia's help nor comments from any international organization about what language should be known and what examination there should be because that is an internal matter for any state. And it would be very strange if, for example, people who are Latvian citizens but who do not know the state language should take part in local elections in Latvia or be elected. We are a small state and we cannot afford to continue this situation. In the same way it is difficult to imagine in the case of Russia that a Moscow mayor could be a person who does not know the Russian language, right? If a Chinese were to be elected in Russia, for example, a mayor of some city, such as Vladivostok, then I would agree and we also perhaps would make some changes, but I would like to see such an experience in Russia first. [end recording]

Andrejevs Hopes for Complete Withdrawal in 1994*LD2712190693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 27 Dec 93*

[Text] [Announcer] Here is Latvia's Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs with his new year's presents for Latvia.

[Begin Andrejevs recording] It must be thought that concrete agreement with Russia on the complete withdrawal of troops from Latvia within an acceptable time-frame would be the best present for Latvia. Unfortunately, we do not have such an agreement, though we have tried to secure it as far as possible. But at least two sides have to be ready for an agreement to be concluded. It seems that the discussions for such an agreement are already coming to an end.

However, the recent elections in Russia again moved the possibility further away. Exerting ourselves and trying, well, we will still try to make perhaps a small step in this direction. (at least one step). This is at a level of promises, because it is not yet specific, but only to show that we are thinking about it. This would be the main gift as far as foreign policy is concerned.

As for all the rest, we can more or less say that it has been developing normally. Perhaps the relatively slow process of our integration into Europe is, nevertheless, making slow progress, if not monthly then yearly. Even that is all right, because it is impossible to speed up the pace considerably in this case. We should understand where we are and how fast we can progress.

The only gift that is perhaps real in the sphere of foreign policy is the drawing together of the Baltic states' governments, which took place during the past year, beginning with the meeting of the foreign ministers in March, which has already become a tradition within the restored framework of the Baltic Union, including the meeting of the presidents and the repeated meeting of the prime ministers on 17 December. Here we have made progress, and with this 1993 added a chapter to the history of our foreign policy, the chapter that is unique in the history of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. I wish that this does not peter out next year, that small differences—which of course also exist between these states, especially in the spheres of economy, borders, and the sea border—do not emerge, that this firm direction toward drawing closer together also dominates next year, because the world wants to see us united and not three split, quarrelsome, small dwarf states.

Happy new year. [end recording]

France To Give Assistance on Recovery of Property*LD2312153493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 23 Dec 93*

[Text] Latvia's Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs was in Paris yesterday for a working visit. During the visit,

Latvian officials met Alain Lamassoure, the French Foreign Ministry's minister delegate of European affairs.

[Correspondent] Two issues were mainly discussed during the visit—the recovery of Latvian property in Paris and the withdrawal of the Russian army from Latvia. As a result of the talks, France undertook to take an active and a position favorable for Latvia on the issue of the property. Until now France's stance had been rather neutral.

Defense Force Chief Notes Army's Tasks for 1994*LD2312202293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1000 GMT 23 Dec 93*

[Interview with Colonel Dainis Turlais, commander of the Defense Forces, by Janis Purdins; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] An annual meeting of Army officers has been taking place at the Defense Forces Suvi Reconnaissance Battalion over the last few days. The achievements of 1993 and tasks for the next year were discussed at the meeting. A reporter, Janis Podins, asked Colonel Dainis Turlais, the commander of the Defense Forces, to the microphone, during one of the intervals in the meeting.

[Podins] Have the results of the inspection carried out by the Saecima, that have been rather widely discussed, affected the course of the meeting?

[Turlais] Without doubt a conclusion by the Saecima Commission would have affected the course of the meeting, but I do not have the conclusions or analysis by the Saecima Commission at my disposal. I only have an opinion expressed by Deputy Kostanda and Deputy (?Grigs) about the Defense Forces. This is only a political opinion, so let the defense minister analyze it. I know there are shortages and problems in the Defense Forces, and I have the rights and duty as a commander to analyze this and put forward tasks for next year. That is the main thing.

[Podins] What tasks will the Defense Forces have for the next year, taking into account the situation in the Defense Forces at the moment, and what is your financial situation?

[Turlais] I would single out two problems here. Financial problems include, let us say, all material and technical supplies, where we can do only what we can do. Our wishes cannot exceed our means here. The second thing is subjective factors that are not dependent on money; they are discipline, order, honesty, and border control [as heard]. Money is not needed here, but strict action and a strong guiding arm is needed by the commanders, because without such strictness and order we will return to the situation when staff are killed in the Army, when bribery continues on our border, and when some commanders abuse their positions. So the main task is to eliminate all these problems next year. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Premier Reviews Government's Work This Year

LD2312193193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] In his radio broadcast today, the Lithuanian prime minister singled out the withdrawal of the Russian Army, the stabilization of the economy, and a slight increase in real income as the most important aspects of the government work this year.

According to the prime minister, real income of the population has increased from July till December by 20 percent. Prices were rising somewhat slower than pensions and wages. The government will endeavor to continue this tendency next year, too, said Adolfas Slezevicius.

Among other important functions, he singled out the introduction of a stable national currency. And, what is of special importance, money has started fulfilling the function of saving.

Adolfas Slezevicius said that the government has rendered foreign policy more active, especially in the direction of the East. It has achieved a turning point in the relations with Latvia and Estonia.

Commenting on agricultural affairs, the prime minister stated that the most serious blow has been dealt here to the government by the very negative work of the Central Bank. The lack of order in the settlement of accounts was a serious blow, not only to the prestige of the government, but also of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, said Adolfas Slezevicius.

According to him, the fact that Romualdas Visokavicius [former chairman of the Bank of Lithuania] was taking part in the Conservative Party congress, shows that such activity by the bank was not accidental.

Adolfas Slezevicius expects that, after the formation of a new leadership of the bank, the idea of the currency board, opposed by the former leaders of the bank, will be implemented. In spite of opposition by the commercial banks, the government is categorically in favor of the currency board and has already submitted a corresponding draft law to the Seimas.

Summing up the work of the government in the last eight months, Adolfas Slezevicius claimed that a basic turning point has been achieved in improving the psychological climate of society, and I quote: There are no longer many enemies and images of enemies, there are no persecutions for political convictions, end of quote.

The second important turning point has been achieved in exposing many grave crimes, above all, the murder of journalist Vytautas Lingys.

Parties View Early Elections, Coalitions

WS2712155093 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian
16 Dec 93 No. 243 p 4

[Report by Ruta Grineviciute under the "Opinions" rubric: "The Hunger for Politics"]

[Text] If the next Seimas [parliament] elections take place earlier than set by the Constitution, the voters will again feel a hunger for politics. Like last fall, two unequivocal forces of the past will fight for power—the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] whose ruling will bring it into conflict with the impoverished majority of voters, and the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) which has chosen V. Landsbergis, the "master of the political head cold" and G. Vagnorius as its leaders. The latter's wastefulness while heading the government has drawn special attention from law enforcement institutions.

The conservatives alone speak out for the new elections in the fall of 1994. Assessing their potential in a sober manner, the centrist and leftist political forces do not expect to be strong enough to overcome the 4-percent vote barrier in a year. However, the conservative leaders may again launch a campaign of "unity in the name of Lithuania" while seeking a coalition with, let us say, the Christian Democrats and the nationalists. V. Landsbergis' political engine has been propelled by crises over his six years in politics. The chief Lithuanian conservative is unlikely to hold back from starting it again.

However, the political reputation of V. Landsbergis and particularly of G. Vagnorius is a stumbling block to the conservatives who are trying to attract new forces (not members of the "third" Sajudis who constitute the party's majority). V. Landsbergis is reprimanded for isolating himself from real life while in power and missing the discontent of the "masses" with him. Therefore, the right forces lost the Seimas elections. The fact that G. Vagnorius has become a frequent guest of investigators after his year in the government has undermined his reputation. Thus far, the only force that will undoubtedly cuddle to the conservatives is the Independence Party founded by V. Cepaitis. Other right-wing parties doubt the positive effect of such a union.

In the 1994 elections, the LDDP would also have fewer supporters among those social groups that backed it in 1992. Thus, seeking the early elections, the Conservative Party risks dooming Lithuania to another term of dyarchy.

The alternative could come from the political center and non-aligned right and left parties. However, the latter are so small that they could compete only as political blocs. RESPUBLIKA has asked representatives of these political forces to comment on the early elections and their own chances of winning seats in the Seimas. Egidijus Bickauskas, one of the leaders of the Center Union: "We have already had the conservatives. They have united on the basis of Sajudis which had and still has its

own electorate. I do not think that the establishment of the Conservative Party has increased their number. On the other hand, we have the LDDP which also emerged on a basis of its political past.... We must set up a new party and begin from the grass roots. We should begin much sooner, but we have no physical force. I do not imagine the new elections without a coalition, but I do not know whether we will be able to form it. It is not clear whether next fall we will be strong enough to form an opposition."

Christian Democratic Party Chairman Povilas Katilius: "If.... The Christian Democratic Party is active, and I doubt whether we should form any preelection blocs. This is a disputable issue."

Social Democratic Party Chairman Aloyzas Sakalas: "We analyze the activities of each party, approve of or criticize them, and propose our own alternatives. However, we do not attack or condemn any party. There have been no discussions about a coalition. We should know the possible partners and their economic and social programs. Of the existing parties, only the liberals have presented such a program. We do not yet have any programs because we do not know what coalitions we can speak about. We are looking forward to the program of the Center Movement as a party. We do not know what other moderate parties might emerge. I cannot claim that we will not go into any coalition. I can only say that we will run for the elections. We suppose that our chances in the new elections would not be worse than now." **Rimantas Smetona, chairman of the Nationalist**

Union: "Currently, no party is capable of winning the elections. I am convinced that blocs and coalitions are essential. We will seek this. The Nationalist Union urged all opposition parties to unite into a coalition as far back as September."

Artur Ploksto, member of the Poles' Union Council: "It is difficult to say how the expansion of the Homeland Union will affect its political prospects. Our organization had even more members than the Conservative Party. However, there are only four of us in the Seimas.

"Everything will depend on the election law. If only political parties rather than organizations are allowed to participate in elections, our union will face a difficult problem. Thus far, we have had no experience in cooperation with right-wing parties. Speaking of such a coalition, I am skeptical about the nationalism of the right parties. The past is too close, and it will be too difficult for us to overcome it.... We would go into a coalition with the left parties."

Aleksandras Dobryninas, member of the Liberals Union Council: "The establishment of any party is a welcome phenomenon. We will assess the emergence of the Homeland Union in a memorandum which we will adopt and publish next week.

"Talks about the preelection coalition are premature. Life will show with whom we should negotiate and cooperate."

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